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NATIONAL REVIEW

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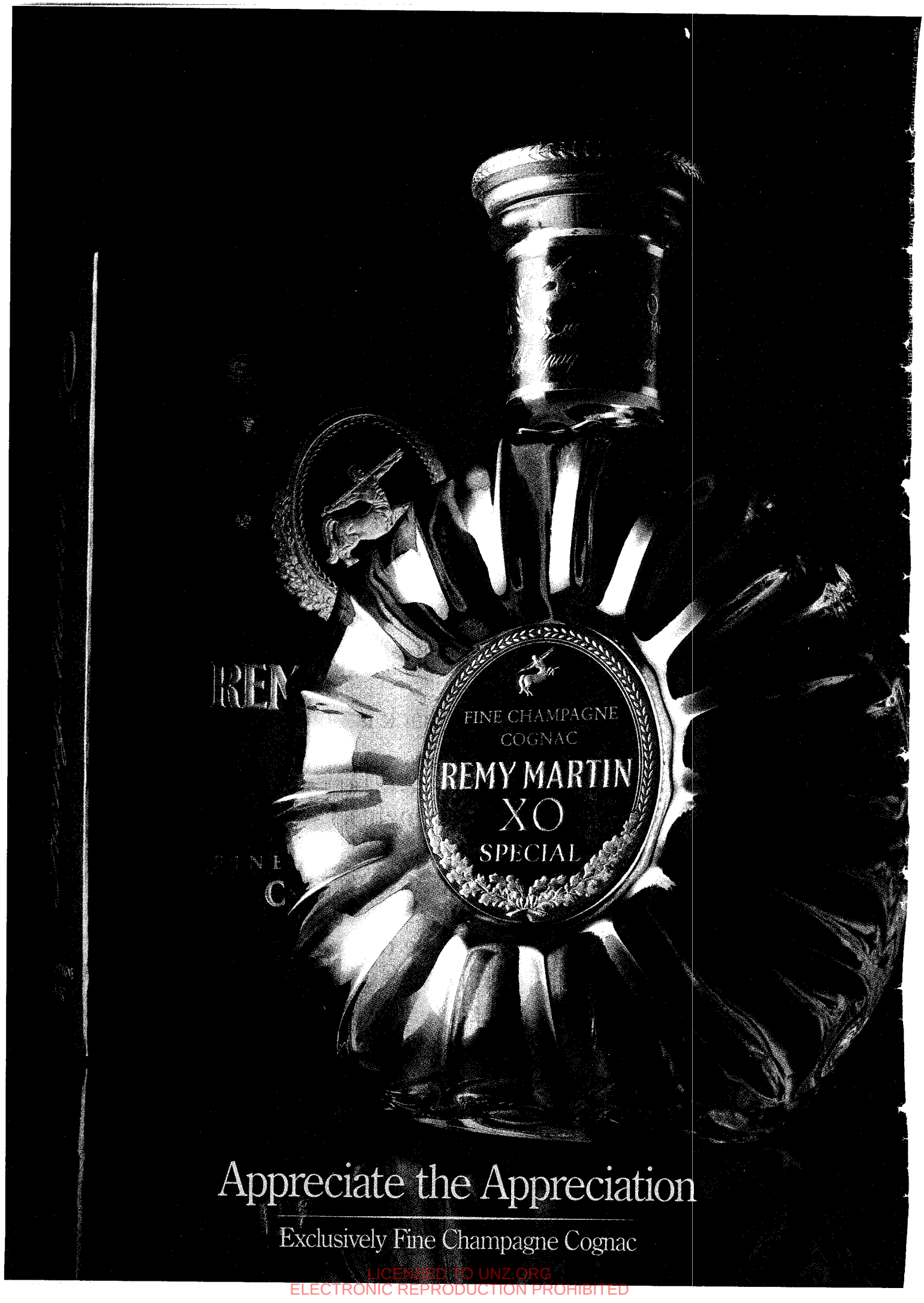

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NATIONAL REVIEW

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LETTERS

A Straussian Debate

I cannot speak for others whose views are purportedly summarized by Charles Kesler in his review–essay of the book of Leo Strauss's writings that I edited ["All against All," "Books, Arts & Manners," Aug. 18], but I must protest against Kesler's gross distortion of my understanding of the philosophic principles underlying the American Founding.

I sketched my understanding in an essay in NATIONAL REVIEW several years ago ["Patriotism American Style," Nov. 29, 1985] and elaborated upon that essay in my *Spirit of Modern Republicanism* (University of Chicago Press, 1988). It is hard for me to believe that any reader whose mind was not somehow clouded could come away from these writings attributing to me the notion that "America was conceived in hedonism, atheism, and materialism," and that as a result our country "had sooner or later to abandon all glory in favor of a descent into the life of self-interestedness." As for Kesler's claim that I "assert that America is fundamentally Hobbesian," that claim is simply false.

What I believe I have demonstrated, through painstaking analysis of the texts of the Founders and the philosophic sources to which they refer, is: 1) that John Locke's philosophy was "the dominant, though by no means uncontested, theoretical strand in the American constitutional founding" (*Spirit of Modern Republicanism*, p. 3); 2) that in reconsidering for ourselves, guided by the Founders, the meaning of Locke's conceptual framework we see vindicated Strauss's insistence on the great debt Locke, and thereby *The Federalist Papers*, owes to Hobbes and to Hobbes's break with both classical and Biblical principles (*Natural Right and History*, pp. 229 and 245); and 3) that we see vindicated at the same time Strauss's insistence that Locke "opposes Hobbes's conclusion," and does so in order to create a new "moral world." The new Lockean "moral world" continues to be based on the principle that, as Strauss puts it, "it is our duty to devote ourselves to the common good." But the common good is rooted for the first time in a free-enterprise system "whose effect is humane," in a new and more solid constitution of republican institutions, and in a new and enriched conception of "human nobility": "hopeful self-reliance and creativity become henceforth the marks of human nobility" (*Natural Right and History*, pp. 60-61, 231, and 248).

More specifically, I have tried to show that Locke replaced Hobbes's authoritarian politics with a drastically limited government of elected representatives (there is, I note in passing, no teaching on representative government in Aristotle). I have tried to demonstrate that Locke enlarged the notion of selfhood or personhood, thereby enriching the meaning of self-preservation or the "pursuit of happiness." Building on Nathan Tarcov's *Locke's Education for Liberty*, I believe I have proven that on the basis of his deeper account of the human personality, Locke in his treatise on education bequeathed to the world a new vision of moral virtue and of family responsibility, a vision that seriously challenges both the classical and the Biblical. And finally, I have argued that in his extensive theological writings, and the great debates with the classical and Biblical outlooks these writings introduce us to, Locke initiates us into the "highest perfection" of human self-consciousness or into the genuinely philosophic life of the mind.

So understood, I contend, the Lockean foundation of American republicanism rivals all known political foundations in its claim to attempt to comprehend and ground human dignity.

Mr. Kesler touts the value of what he calls the "debate" between West Coast and East Coast Straussians. But he has yet to present my views in a fair or accurate manner, and, what is more, he has yet to offer a scholarly, sustained rebuttal of a single one of my interpretations of the crucial texts. Brief and breezy discussions of *The Federalist* and of snippets from other sources do not fill the bill. And may I suggest that creating ham-handed, polemical caricatures of one's opponents, while it may please one's cheerleaders and arouse the peanut gallery, in no way elevates →

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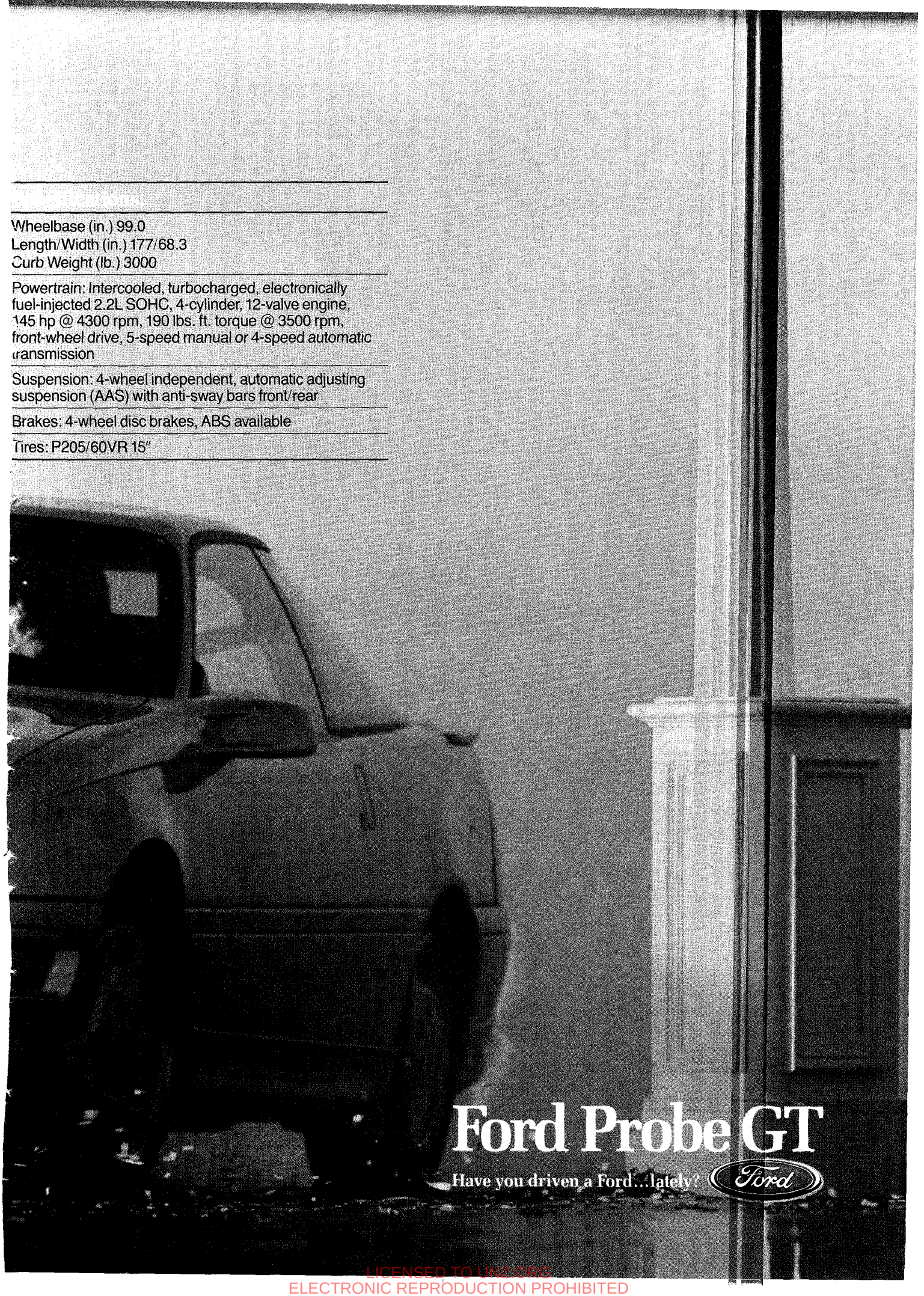
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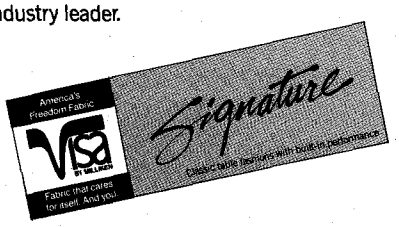

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→ the level of American patriotism or self-understanding? I challenge Mr. Kesler to rise to the level of the interpretation of America's founding principles that I have offered.

Thomas L. Pangle
Department of Political Science
University of Toronto
Toronto, Ontario

When it comes to responding to criticism Professor Pangle is a bit of a puffer fish, swelling up to great dimensions to try to frighten off his opponents. But the closer one looks the less formidable is the defense.

The careful reader will have noticed that Professor Pangle's favorite rhetorical technique is to say something, then under criticism to deny that he said it, and finally to say it again still more stubbornly. This is a form neither of proof nor of disproof, which is why arguing with him is so dizzying. Consider: My claim that he views America as fundamentally Hobbesian is, he says, "simply false," a "gross distortion" of his real understanding. What is that real understanding? That Lockeanism was "the dominant . . . theoretical strand in the American constitutional founding," and that "guided by the Founders" we see that Locke was fundamentally Hobbesian. But if America is Lockean and Locke is Hobbesian, would it not follow that America is fundamentally Hobbesian?

No, he avers, because from Hobbesian premises Locke—and the American Founders—drew (purportedly) non-Hobbesian conclusions, above all, "'a new and enriched conception of [now quoting from Strauss] 'human nobility'" defined as " 'hopeful self-reliance and creativity.'" But these snippets from Strauss do not do justice to Strauss's penetrating interpretation of Locke, in which he proves that "hopeful self-reliance and creativity" are conclusions flowing quite logically from Hobbes's premise that, in the final (and first) analysis, we know only what we make. Locke's "hopeful self-reliance and creativity" thus degenerate quickly into what Strauss called "the joyless quest for joy" and finally into nihilism, the end result of a theory grounded in hedonism, atheism, and materialism. In short, what Professor Pangle calls "a new and enriched conception of 'human nobility'" is neither new nor noble, though over the years it may have made quite a few people rich. The fact is one cannot arrive at fundamentally non-Hobbesian or anti-Hobbesian conclusions without abandoning Hobbesian premises. Professor Pan-

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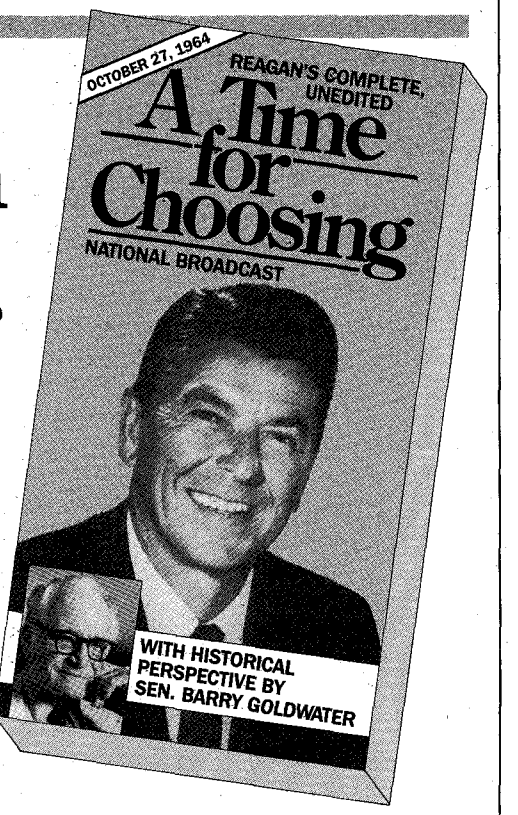

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gle cannot have it both ways, and will not concede that the American Founders may have understood Locke in an anti-Hobbesian or traditional way. Therefore, his interpretation of America remains fundamentally Hobbesian.

Not so long ago, Professor Pangle used to declare openly that the American Founders did not know how low they were. But if he has learned anything from his disputes with the Western Straussians, it is the great disadvantage of having to defend this doctrine publicly. So he seems to have been driven to the opposite extreme. Now he asserts that "the Lockean foundation of American republicanism rivals all known political foundations in its claim to attempt to comprehend and ground human dignity" because, morally speaking, it offers "a vision that seriously challenges both the classical and the Biblical." I am not sure what it would mean to try to defend *American republicanism by showing how profoundly its moral assumptions challenge the Bible (!) and the classics; but I am sure that such a defense would exceed the wildest claims I would want to make for America.*

Professor Pangle is a good and resourceful scholar, and I do not mean to disparage him or to impugn the good work that he has done. But when it comes to America he just cannot seem to understand it except as an epiphenomenon of modern political theory. Certainly his recent book, which is more about Locke than about America, contains nothing like the close and sustained interpretations of the Declaration of Independence, The Federalist, *and American constitutional history that I offer in my own scholarly work and that I think necessary for any real comprehension of American politics. His "challenge" to me conveniently ignores the fact that in my writings I frequently and seriously criticize his views and those of his school, while he maintains a conspiracy of silence against mine. Finally, what he calls playing to the peanut gallery I call acknowledging that the academic debate about America is part of a larger political debate about the American character and destiny—a debate that is too important to be left to professors.* —*CK*

Looking Back

Thank you for debunking the questionable phenomenon of Woodstock ["A Nation of Loners," by Joseph Sobran, Sept. 1]. It is long overdue. Sophocles said, "One must wait until the evening to see how splendid the day has been." In this case, it is how overhyped, malodorous, inconsequential, and self-indulgent this affair—the equivalent of a college spring break in Florida moved north to a farmer's field—had been.

Joan Mary Macey
Binghamton, N.Y.

A Good Image

I read George Sim Johnston's review of a publication called *Image* ["Books, Arts & Manners," Sept. 1], and believe it would interest our group of professional artists. The Memphis Arts Group is part of a network of artists in the United States and abroad interested in reminding the world of arts of the debt that it owes to Christianity.

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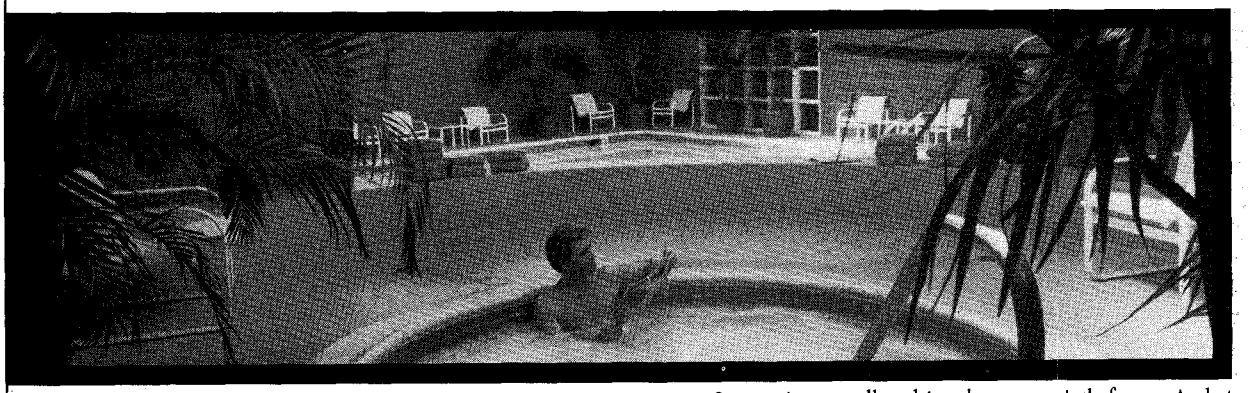

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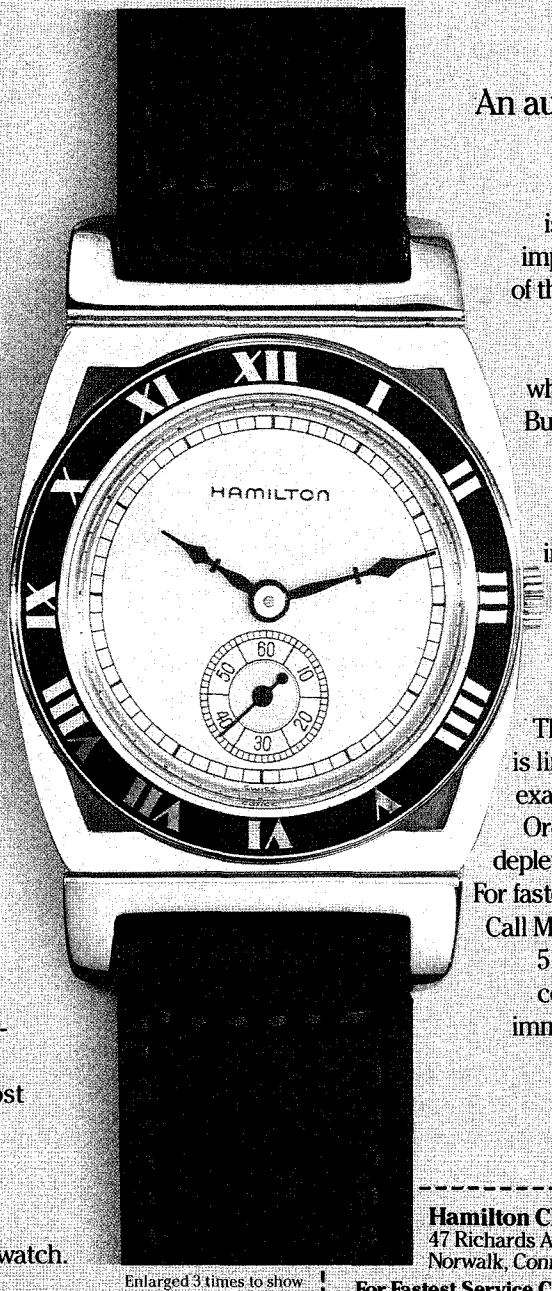

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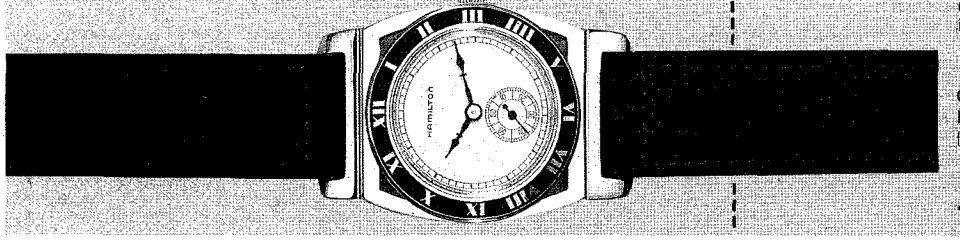

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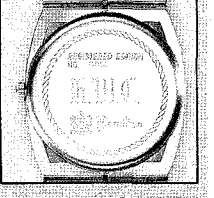

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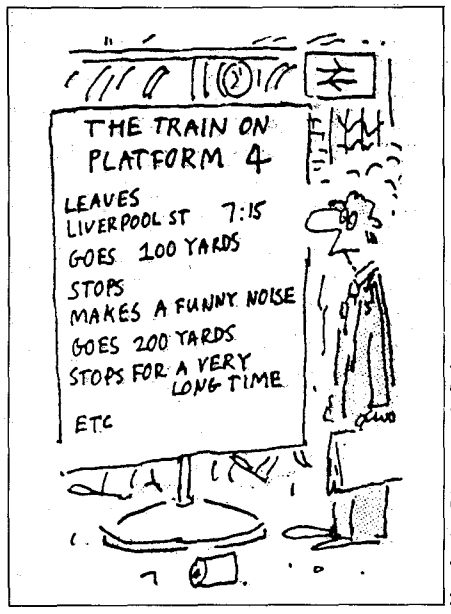
ON THE RECORD

■ President **Bush** wins round in fight to lower capital-gains tax. **Evans & Novak** reported that on his return from summer recess, Speaker **Tom Foley** predicted a cut in capital-gains tax despite his own opposition. Then, last week, Ways and Means Committee voted 19 to 17 to support cut (must go to full House for final approval). Six committee Democrats broke ranks to support reduction to 19.6 per cent: **Mike Andrews** (Tex.), **Beryl Anthony** (Ark.), **Ronnie Flippo** (Ala.), **Andrew Jacobs** (Ind.), **Ed Jenkins** (Ga.), **J. J. Pickle** (Tex.). . . . Majority Leader **Richard Gephardt** called vote "a tax folly." "Middle-income Americans, lower-income Americans," Gephardt says, "are going to be asked to pay for this." **Thomas Downey** (D., N.Y.) labeled it "a middle-class massacre." Estimates are that revenues will be $3 billion higher next year if rate is 19.6 per cent than if it stays at 28 per cent. Treasury Secretary **Nicholas Brady** called it "a major step forward in providing incentives for long-term investment in the United States." Committee Chairman **Dan Rostenkowski** complains that the vote "could be a first step in the unraveling of tax reform."

■ FRANKING PRIVILEGES: To help cover Bush's War on Drugs, the Senate voted to cut $45 million from the budget slated for congressional mailing privileges. Its not likely to pass House, where franking is a rep's life-line. The bill's sponsor, Sen. **Pete Wilson** (R., Calif.), argues: "Let us be perfectly honest—the American people's lives do not depend on congressional newsletters." . . . Cost of congressional mailings rose from $54 million in 1981 to $113 million in 1988. Sen. **Gordon Humphrey** (R., N.H.) has submitted a bill to require public disclosure of each congressman's and senator's mailing record. . . . Talk in Washington is that **Barney Frank** matter is far from over; that he could still be forced to resign, or lose seat in 1990. However, there's been little condemnation publicly from Democrats, whereas GOP called for resignation of Rep. **Donald Lukens** (R., Ohio), convicted for sexual relations with under-age female. Democrats, however, must be cautious not to offend gay lobby. *Boston Globe*, always a supporter of the congressman, has called for him to resign "for his own good, and for the good of his constituents, his causes, and Congress." **Paul Mero**, spokesman for Rep. **William Dannemeyer** (R., Calif.), says Frank "should resign. The last thing this joint needs is to have the American public perceive that Mr. Frank's colleagues will put up with this nonsense." Gay-rights activist **Roger Doughty** says Rep. Frank is a "victim" of society: "Gay people and minorities are held to a different standard because we've been cultured to believe that gays are promiscuous." But many gay leaders are quietly deserting Frank for exploiting/being exploited by a prostitute and hurting gay cause. . . . **Public Advocate**, government watchdog group, has started up the Barney Frank House-Sitting Squad. PA hopes to keep the riff-raff away from Rep. Frank's Washington home, as well as instituting "Hooker-Free Zones."



Matt, London *Daily Telegraph* / Rotheo

■ Senate Judiciary Committee will be deciding whether to approve **Clarence Thomas**, Bush appointee to federal appeals court for District of Columbia (seat formerly held by **Robert Bork**). Key **Reagan** and Bush nominees have not fared so well with Judiciary Committee since 1985: **William Bradford Reynolds** for associate attorney general—killed in committee; **Jefferson Sessions** for federal district-court judge—killed in committee; Robert Bork for Supreme Court—killed by full Senate; **Susan Liebler** for U.S. court of appeals for federal circuit—unfavorable committee report, full Senate would not consider nomination; **Bernard Siegan** for ninth circuit court of appeals—killed in committee; **William Lucas** for assistant attorney general for civil rights—killed in committee.

■ Majority Whip **Newt Gingrich** comments that present Democratic leadership (Foley, **Gray**, Gephardt) is more accommodating than heavy-handed pair of Speaker **Jim Wright** and Whip **Tony Coelho**, though, he says, "Termites are as effective as dynamite in bringing down a house. They just take longer."

■ ELECTION WATCH: There's talk of GOP Senate by 1992. *Congressional Weekly* sees five Democratic senators vulnerable in 1990 election; four face prominent GOP representatives. Freshman Senators **Paul Simon** (Ill., ADA: 85), **Tom Harkin** (Iowa, ADA: 95) face Rep. **Lynn Martin** (ACU: 76), **Tom Tauke** (ACU: 67). **Claiborne Pell** (R.I., ADA: 100) faces Rep. **Claudine Schneider** (ACU: 26). **Carl Levin** (Mich., ADA: 90) will probably face Rep. **Bill Schuette** (ACU: 65). And Nebraska's **Jim Exon** (ADA: 35) may face former Representative **Hal Daub** (1981 ACA: 87).

■ From the Center for Media and Public Affairs: During President Bush's first six months in office, First Dog **Millie** collected more major-media mentions (9) than Cabinet members **James Watkins**, Energy (8); **Lauro Cavazos**, Education (4); **Clayton Yuetter**, Agriculture (2); and **Edward Derwinski**, Veterans' Affairs (0).

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FROM THE EDITOR

Do the Right Thing — Suppress Crime

WHEN A YOUNG woman investment banker was raped, beaten and left for dead in New York's Central Park by a "wilding" gang of black youths last April, liberal opinion in the city didn't know what to think. But it knew very well what *not* to think. The crime, we were repeatedly assured, was not racial. It was simply a brutal crime and, as such, reported by the *New York Times* itself under the dispassionate headline: "Youths Rape and Beat Central Park Jogger." Contrast the same newspaper's headline last month when a young black man, Yusef Hawkins, was shot and killed by a gang of white youths: "Black Youth Is Killed in Brooklyn by Whites in Attack Called Racial."

On this distinction, the *Times* has shown a determined consistency. An editorial at the time of the rape had distinguished between it and the Howard Beach attack, condemning the rapists for displaying "the same sickening lack of compassion as did the gang of white teenagers who beat blacks and chased one to his death in the Howard Beach case," but also claiming that they "did not display the crude racial animus of the Howard Beach group." So the girl was spared that at least, victim as she was of a lack of compassion.

No one had suggested in April that the people of Schomburg Plaza, from where the youths came, bore any responsibility for the beating and rape of the jogger. And they would have been accused of racism if they had. Thus a *Daily News* editorial at the time proclaimed "the simple truth that dreadful acts are done by individual thugs to individual victims—not by or to a race."

But there was an immediate consensus of newspaper reporters that Hawkins's murder was the result of the racial hostility that Italian-American inhabitants of Bensonhurst (where it occurred) felt for blacks. This time the *Daily News* editorial forsook simple truths for root causes: "despite the protests of some Bensonhurst residents, the attack was based on race . . . wrong to dismiss it as a bunch of neighborhood rowdies going too far . . . The motivation was deeper, more insidious," etc., etc. (The two *News* editorials, incidentally, were entitled respectively "Stay Calm, New York" and "Dare to Attack Racist Violence.")

The picture given, in short, was that the rape was an isolated event which, however vile, was of no wider significance, whereas the murder of Yusef Hawkins was an extreme but predictable consequence of a pervasive white racism. Were that so, black people in New York would be at everyday risk of their lives. That, indeed, is what black columnists and celebrities now began to assert. Filmmaker Spike Lee wrote in the *Daily News*: "In America to be black is good enough reason to be killed." In the *Times*, Devin S. Standard, a young black entrepreneur, anguished: "I wonder if I am to be next. . . . I cannot walk throughout the city where I was born without fearing for my safety—just because I am an African-American."

Of course, most New Yorkers cannot walk throughout the city without fearing for their safety—and many of them think that it is just because they are *not* African-Americans. Nor do the crime statistics confute them.

Nationally, they show that blacks are responsible for 50 per cent of all rapes and robberies and 60 per cent of murders. In New York City, the percentages are even higher. The point is rightly made that most victims are also black—but they are generally victims of crimes committed by other blacks. In murders committed by blacks in New York last year, for instance, four out of every five victims were themselves black. Mr Lee and Mr. Standard have most to fear from other African-Americans.

That leaves interracial crimes. But here the statistics offer even less support to their fears. A study by Professor William Wilbanks—and I am grateful to Pat Buchanan, whose column drew my attention to it—found that of the 629,000 interracial crimes in 1985 where victims survived to identify attackers, nine out of ten were by blacks against whites.

The social reality is that whites are walking the streets in fear of being attacked by blacks, and that respectable blacks, being more vulnerable, are in still greater fear of attack by other blacks. Blacks are threatened by whites largely insofar as white fear of black crime produces a crude neighborhood vigilantism. Fear of crime does not, of course, justify crime. But the statistics do not suggest that this is a major problem. "Bias crimes" involving violence amounted to only 168 cases (of which 63 had black victims and 57 white) in 1988, compared to over 1,900 murders and over 3,000 rapes.

YET FOR THREE weeks the talk shows and newspaper columns were conducted in accordance with the myths of white violence and black victimhood. And these myths have now inserted themselves firmly into the public mind. We now face two problems: genuine fears and cultivated paranoia.

Fortunately, the answer to both is the same: the restoration of public safety by more energetic policing and by more certain and severe punishment of crime. Not only would such measures protect potential victims, black and white, but they would also soothe the fears and racial tensions which unrestrained crime has fostered. Unfortunately, however, a crackdown on crime as such is distasteful to liberal establishment opinion because it promises an increase in the arrest and conviction rates mainly of blacks. And, as the uproar over Willie Horton showed, liberals share with racists an inability to distinguish between black criminals and other blacks. Hence their concentration on the side-issue of "bias crime," where, they note with relief, more of the perpetrators turn out to be white.

Willie Horton is indeed an unsettling symbol in American politics. He symbolizes liberal unwillingness to fight crime if it means fighting black crime.

—JOHN O'SULLIVAN

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THE WEEK

■ What's the difference between a Massachusetts senator and a Massachusetts congressman? The senator chases women.

■ A lesson of the Reagan years is emerging, by instructive contrast, from the Bush Administration. The Democratic Congress is already pushing a dozen new spending initiatives—for housing, health care for the uninsured, Medicaid, child care, vocational education, rural development, etc.—that were confined, during the Reagan Presidency, to the recesses where wicked dreams must lurk. Ronald Reagan, than whom no man was kinder or gentler, nevertheless served early notice of 1) his own philosophy, 2) his own agenda, and 3) his willingness to fight. Result: There was no liberal agenda until late in his second term. Mr. Bush has made a strategic mistake by advertising conciliation rather than practicing deterrence, and it looks as if he'll spend four years swatting down pestiferous legislation.

■ Considering how our elected representatives manage to feather their own nests, we think that if in the end they decide not to repeal the capital-gains tax they should at least make it applicable to seats in Congress.

■ NATIONAL REVIEW's good judgment was confirmed when the two candidates it favored in the New York mayoral race were rejected by the voters. David Dinkins, a liberal Democrat whose fondness for high taxes is undercut by his failure to pay his own, will face Republican Rudolph Giuliani, whose abuse of the civil rights of arbitrageurs earned him the endorsement of the Liberal Party. Ronald Lauder, the defeated conservative Republican, remains on the Conservative Party line, although the White House, eager to see a Republican in Gracie Mansion, may persuade him to play possum. The election is now likely, in the wake of Bensonhurst, to turn on race. How sad that politics in one of the nation's greatest, and most greatly troubled, cities should depend on such base considerations. A candidate willing to run a campaign of intellectual and social renewal could make a refreshing splash.

■ What's a headline writer to do? Inflation, which looked as if it was going to go through the roof earlier this year, has simply petered out. Indeed, for the past three months prices at the wholesale level have plummeted. Never have we had such stellar price behavior this late in an economic expansion. But never underestimate the resourcefulness of the *New York Times*: "Worries about Inflation May Revive This Fall," read a recent headline. And when fall comes? Insert "spring."

■ Governor Mario Cuomo of New York has added a new dimension to the term "personal opposition." On abortion, his long-held position is that, though personally opposed, he would obey Supreme Court edicts. Now, when the Supreme Court seems to be moving in unpredictable ways, Governor Cuomo has come out strongly pro-choice. On the death penalty, however, the governor's private opinion will, willy-nilly, be public policy. Even if the New York legislature does pass death-penalty legislation over his veto, he says, he will block executions through clemency, commutation, or whatever. Thus, when push comes to shove, Cuomo is always left. Some private opinions are merely private, others apparently have the status of constitutional judgments of the Supreme Court.

■ Remember the argument that it was harmful in the long run to dump grain on the starving Ethiopians because that would put the Ethiopian peasant out of business and ensure that famines would recur? The argument applies with double force in the case of Poland. Polish agriculture is the one relatively healthy sector of the Polish economy—80 per cent of the land is in private hands—and the Poles are not starving yet. Getting rid of our food surpluses may please the farm lobby, but in Poland itself it will depress prices and remove incentives to produce. Polish agriculture, like Poland as a whole, needs investment and debt relief, not attacks on the remaining oases of private enterprise.

■ On the fiftieth anniversary of Stalin's partial annexation of Poland under the Nazi–Soviet pact, 150,000 Ukrainians marched through the streets of Lvov (a Ukrainian city transferred from Polish to Russian overlordship by the Pact) to protest Stalin's postwar banning of the Ukrainian Catholic (or Uniate) Church. Though Uncle Joe gave the church's property to the quiescent Russian Orthodox Church and shot or imprisoned the priests, the church survived underground. With five million communicants, it is the largest banned religion in the world, and it has been conducting services in graveyards and forest clearings for two years. Under *glasnost*, the Lvov march was permitted, and foreign journalists allowed to attend. But Gorbachev has to worry about Ukrainian nationalism. Indeed, about half of

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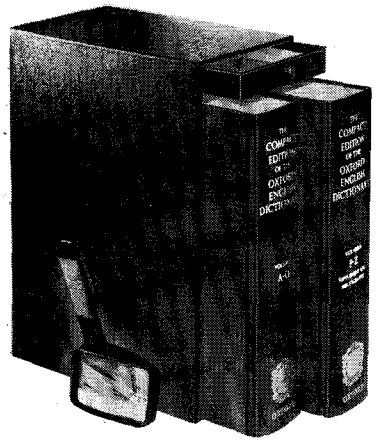

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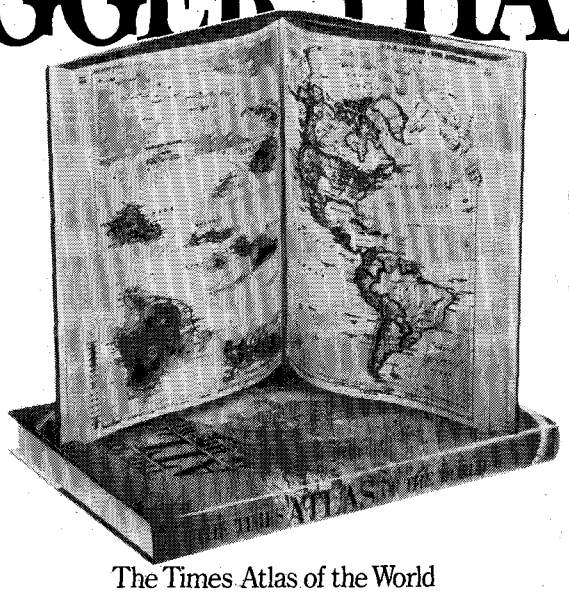

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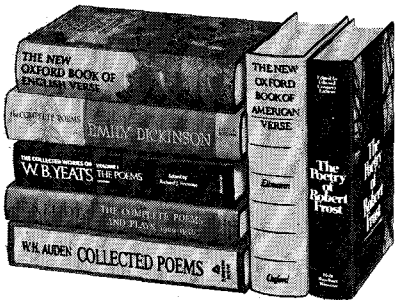
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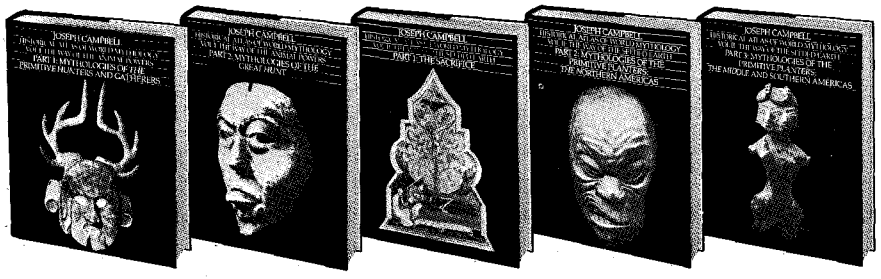

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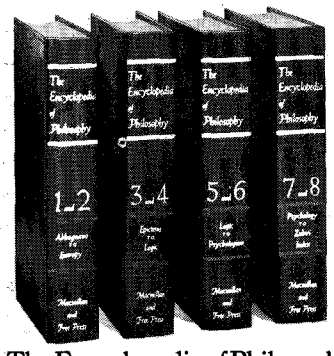

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the one thousand Orthodox churches officially reopened in the Soviet Union in recent years are in Ukraine, where the people are Catholic, to encourage assimilation. The Communist Party's answer to demands for the Church's restoration is that the Uniate "problem" should be resolved by negotiations between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches. That line won't last long: the Pope is expected to give the issue top priority at his meeting with Gorbachev in November.

■ It is sometimes said that denizens of the Soviet Union have over-fond illusions about capitalism—and there might be something in it. The recent statement by the Central Committee warning the Baltic states against secession castigated them for their ingratitude for recent Soviet reforms, including "the opportunity to go over to self-reliance and *cost accounting*."

Catastrophic Care

As seniors lobby Washington
  Until the kettle boils
And, in his Oval Office digs,
  The President recoils,
The Congress contemplates repeal
  But hesitates because
The loss of revenue could lead
  To fiscal menopause.

W. H. VON DREELE

■ The nation's resources of spiritual leadership have dipped even lower in the past month, as former televangelist Jim Bakker freaked out during his trial and Father George A. Stallings Jr., Washington's black rebel priest, angrily evaded questions about a charge he had sodomized an altar boy. So far, neither has announced plans to emulate former rabbi Jackie Mason, who has made a successful debut in a weekly sitcom. It's been a full quarter of a century since Mason gave Ed Sullivan the finger in front of a national viewing audience. Who knows, in another 25 years prime time may be ready for Bakker and Stallings.

■ From the overlapping communities of news and entertainment comes a meditation on race relations. On NBC's *Today* show, co-anchor Bryant Gumbel explains the limitations of the network's prime-time "test" of viewers' attitudes: "This is not gonna tell you whether you're a racist or a liberal."

■ We've been scooped. The current issue of *The New Republic* features an article by Jefferson Morley on what it's like to take crack. "If all you have in life is bad choices," he writes, "crack may not be the most unpleasant of them." Sounds like working conditions over at *TNR* leave something to be desired.

Uber Alles?

As the East Germans came, a hundred an hour, in their tin-can cars with power-tool motors, across the border from Hungary to Austria, they demonstrated, for the redundant *n*th time, what lengths average, unheroic people will go to to taste freedom, even if they have been raised to be slaves. Some of the refugees who hailed from East Berlin, after passing through Austria, kept going until they had flown to West Berlin: traveling several hundred miles, through four countries, in order to move from one part of town to another.

Their effect on the two Germanies is bound to be profound. For East Germany, the flight was a humiliating rejection. It was the only Eastern European country, economists liked to say, that had made Marxism even half work. But that was not good enough. Appropriately, Erich Honecker, the septuagenarian Party boss, reportedly suffering from incurable cancer, was incommunicado. He might better have skipped through Budapest himself.

West Germany, meanwhile, has experienced a most dramatic inducement to focus on things German. The East Germans aren't the only homecoming refugees it has been taking in these days: there have actually been greater numbers of "ethnic Germans" returning from remote immigrant communities in Hungary, Russia, and other points east. These Germans are virtually foreigners, however, sundered by decades—in some cases centuries—of life abroad (the Volga Germans moved to Russia under Catherine the Great). The refugees from across the postwar border are brothers and cousins, whose return packs a real emotional punch.

What punch does it pack for Eastern and Western Europe, and for us? "We have accepted," a Hungarian official told one reporter, "that the Brezhnev doctrine is over." That doctrine was simple: What we (that is, the Soviets) have, we keep. Certainly there is a lot Gorbachev still intends to keep. Full political independence isn't going to come to Hungary anytime soon, much less to Lithuania. Moscow has evidently decided, however—and Hungary would not have opened its borders without Moscow's approval—that it can afford to release a few thousand restless Germans.

What might Moscow gain, at our expense? There

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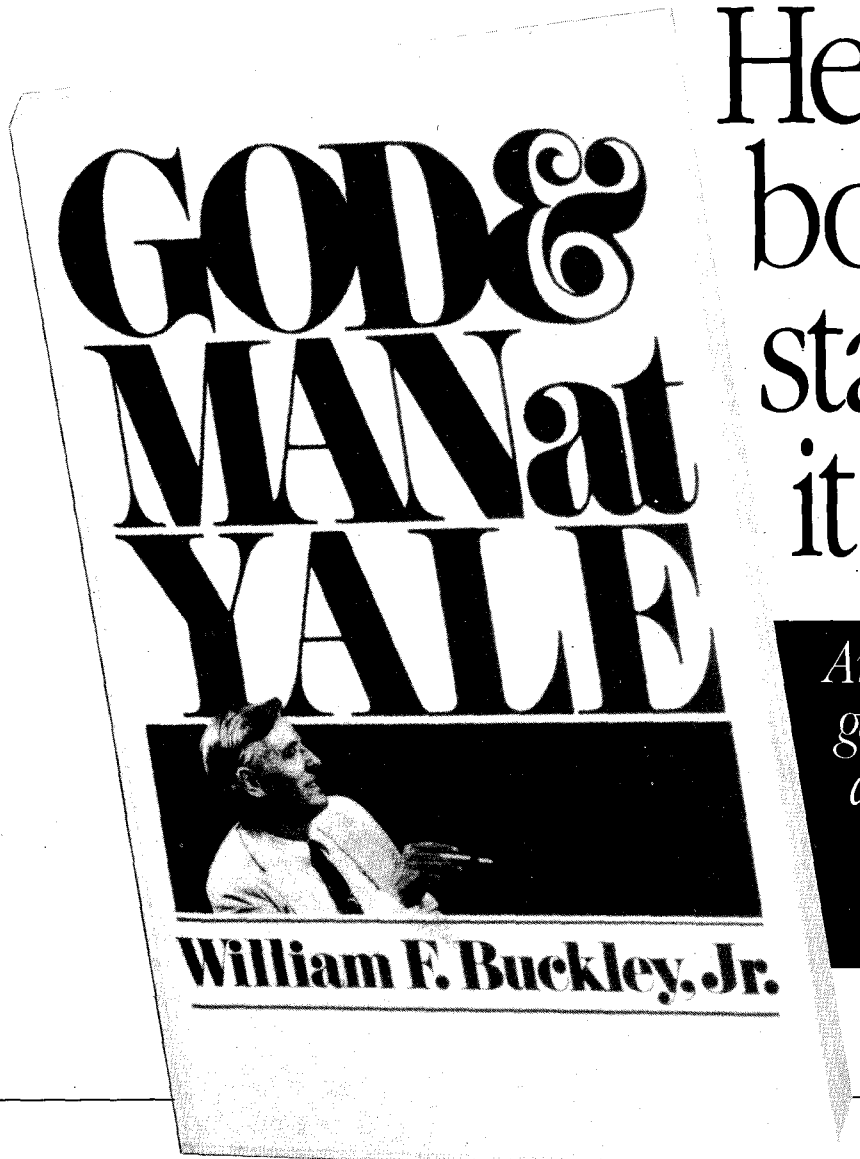

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has been a good deal of fretting, prompted by newspaper photographs of all those jubilant blonds, over the prospect of German reunification. To the extent that this is simple kraut-bashing, it is ignoble. This generation of Germans is not responsible for the fact that their elders began the last two world wars. There is nothing morally or politically wrong with German reunification per se.

But a neutralist Germany, or even two Finlandized Germanies, would be unacceptable. Henry Kissinger, Evan Galbraith, and others have been warning, since the time of the INF treaty, that the true target audience of *glasnost* and *perestroika* was Western Europe. To West Germany, the alpha fish of Western Europe, Gorbachev holds the added lure of a restored homeland.

Americans welcome the good fortune of individual Germans in achieving their freedom; we would welcome a reunited Germany, with full political and economic freedom, tomorrow. But until then, there are worse things than separation.

The Jacobin Congress

IF YOU THINK that the problem with Congress is that it is run by Democratic-controlled committees that manipulate the rules to push their agendas through, think again. It's worse than that, as Les Aspin, Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, could tell you. He was just forced to appoint a special 16-member Jacobin panel from *outside* the committee to set funding for major strategic weapons as the House goes to conference with the Senate over the budget. The goal is to take away the power of the senior members of the Armed Services Committee and give it to a more liberal section of the House, folks who are less likely to back the four key strategic programs of the Bush Administration: the MX missile, the Midgetman missile, the B-2 bomber, and SDI.

The panel emerged when Representative Pat Schroeder (D., Colo.) complained to House Speaker Tom Foley about Congressman Aspin, who this summer had publicly criticized the House defense bill as a "Dukakis defense budget." Miss Schroeder and her fellow liberals argued, correctly, that Mr. Aspin was not likely to be very vigorous in defending the awful House defense bill. The solution was, as usual, to go outside the system in order to get what they want.

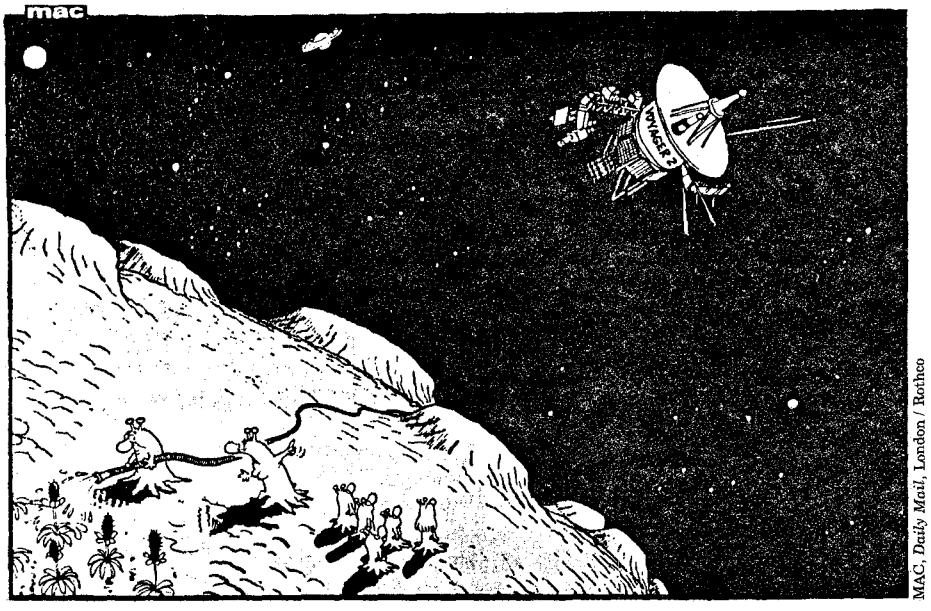
The move highlights the Democrats' growing problem: how to prevent the leadership from being swallowed up by the more radical members below. It wasn't all that long ago that Speaker Jim Wright was similarly bullied, after an anti-Communist speech about El Salvador. Today, at a time when Speaker Foley is trying to present himself as a man the White House can do business with, the Schroeders of his party are forcing him into a defense budget that would be more vulnerable to a Bush veto—if the President is prepared to stop being bi-partisan long enough to veto it.

HUDscam Revisited

IN 1980, the *Boston Herald* ran a major six-part exposé by two liberal reporters, Shelly Cohen and Greg O'Brien, on how the Carter Administration had bartered Section 8 HUD grants for millions in contributions from developers.

Under the title "Housing and Politics—The Way It Works," the *Herald* reporters showed that not only was Massachusetts the largest recipient of Section 8 funds, but that 70 per cent of the money Carter raised in the state came from Section 8 developers, who in turn got close to 90 per cent of all the Section 8 grants.

Wait, there's more. The reporters found that *all* of the would-be Section 8 developers in Massachusetts who did contribute to Carter later won Section 8 awards, and that the awards were made on average



MAC, *Daily Mail*, London / Rothco

"Now we're in trouble!—it's one of those hosepipe detector units!"

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within five months—record time for the turgid HUD bureaucracy. In 1979, 22 of 28 Section 8 projects went to major Carter contributors, and 81 of 102 projects then approved for scheduling in 1980 and beyond were for Carter fat-cat givers.

The *Herald* series laid out the "action," which involved Carter fund-raiser Nick Rizzo, a Lawrence, Massachusetts, auto-parts dealer, as the main gatekeeper. Throughout 1979 and 1980, Rizzo, often accompanied by HUD secretaries (first Patricia Harris and then Moon Landrieu), would hold "breakfasts, dinners, and even an elaborate sports weekend at the Polo Club in Palm Beach, Florida, events ranging in price from $500 to $5,000 a person—used to attract well-heeled developers."

Some years later, Rizzo told syndicated columnist Warren Brookes about chartered flights to Las Vegas in August 1980, on which he and Landrieu raised money from prospective Section 8 developers. One developer described his flight as "a housing auction" in which contributors "bid" for specific Section 8 housing projects ranging into the tens of millions of dollars.

As one developer told the *Herald* reporters, "We've certainly been rowing the boat for Carter in Massachusetts. In return, the President has been generous, to say the least." How generous? Through 1980 "some $2 billion in subsidies and $1.2 billion in mortgage loans have been used in fifty thousand units . . . across the state."

Lest you think this was just normal political fund-raising, the *Herald* found that "In all cases involving Carter contributors, [campaign] money was received before a project was approved." The *Herald* reporters cited the case of two developers whose combined $15,000 in campaign contributions leveraged $12 million in Section 8 grants.

The *Herald* cited numerous similar quid-pro-quo instances—enough to keep a congressional oversight committee, not to mention the media, salivating for weeks. But until the Republicans' own HUDscam came along, no one was interested. Remember, you read it here second.

Capital Gains and Class Warfare

MARX AND Hegel may have lost their clout in the Soviet Chamber of Deputies, but they still have followers in Congress. The proposed cut in capital-gains taxes, narrowly approved by the House Ways and Means Committee, is seen by many Democrats as the materialist dialectic at work: the wealthy owners of capital—most of whom, if we are to believe Congressman Gephardt, are personal friends of George Bush—pitted against the working masses, who have nothing to lose but their IRAs. In fact, Chairman Rostenkowski's "synthesis" called for expanding the amount that can be sheltered in IRAs back up to $2,000 per year as an alternative to cutting capital-gains taxes.

But neither IRAs nor capital-gains taxes are what they used to be. A few years ago middle-income retirees could reasonably expect to benefit from IRAs, because the tax rates they would face at retirement would be considerably lower than those they faced while working. But today the top tax rate paid by workers is 28 per cent, and the effective marginal tax rate paid by middle-class retirees is as high as 48.3 per cent when you consider the taxes they now pay on their Social Security benefits and the Medicare surtax. (See "Right Data," page 29.) Although wealthy retirees still stand to benefit handsomely from their IRAs, the average worker may be better off with an ordinary savings account.

On the other side, capital-gains taxes are no longer the province of the rich. Not only is stock ownership more widely dispersed than ever (the 47 million shareholders in public corporations in 1985 had a median income of $36,800, according to a New York Stock Exchange survey), but the jobs created by decreasing or eliminating the tax would go disproportionately to lower-income taxpayers.

The battle is not over. Congressional passage of the tax cut is far from certain. But the Ways and Means Committee vote gives us at least some reason to hope that hoary notions of class struggle and a static economy may at last be losing some of their appeal.

GUEST EDITORIAL

New York, New York — It's a Wonderful Town

I WAS TOLD that capitalism is in the process of rotting away. New York was described as a pile of gravestones piled one on the other. That's not true at all. Some of what are, in the United States, called "slums" would pass for pretty decent housing in the Soviet Union. I've been here two days and the first thing I've seen is that capitalism is flourishing.

I support Gorbachev, his strategy for *perestroika* and the renovation of Soviet society. But if you tell the Soviet people that they will have sausage by the year 2010, that is hardly going to satisfy them. My proposal was first to start with political reform. Then concentrate on three areas: foods, consumer goods, and housing, neglecting other areas for the time being—the defense budget, for instance. We

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should also refrain from implementing several space programs that have no particular technical purpose. They are really being done just to show the world we are just as good as the Americans, who, of course, are better.

We've now had four years of *perestroika*. One thing that's happened is that in many parts of the country the specialized hospitals that were built only for the privileged class have been renounced by them and turned into children's hospitals. I signed up with the local (unprivileged) polyclinic, and when I went to see the local doctor there for the first time, she kept telling me the pipes are broken, the windows aren't fixed, the floors have to be repaired. I'm not even mentioning that *they have to use one hypodermic needle for the whole hospital.* [Our italics.]

Today we have an economic crisis, a financial crisis, a nationalities crisis, a standard-of-living crisis. Forty-eight million people live below the poverty line. The Party is in a crisis. Society is in a crisis. If there are not some substantial improvements within the next year, we will see the beginning of a revolution from below. We have to prevent bloodletting.

We shouldn't even set ourselves the goal of catching up and overtaking the United States, in order not to pull the wool over the eyes of our people . . . We should throw off our false pride and, in general, take a greal deal from American experience in all areas.

Extracts from a speech by Mr. Boris Yeltsin, Supreme Soviet member, at Columbia University during his recent visit to the United States.

Conservative Conservationism

CONSERVATIONISM, which became "ecology" and then "environmentalism," was once, as the word suggests, a conservative issue; like civil rights, it has its provenance in the Republican Party. Yet there can be no doubt that during the last several decades these matters have been pre-empted by the Left.

That is one reason to welcome the founding of the National Wilderness Institute. The NWI's charter suggests that environmental concerns are best dealt with through the creative forces of a democratic free-market system, rather than through rigid and sluggish bureaucratic blueprints. To further this goal, NWI Director Robert E. Gordon Jr. believes conservatives "must avoid a common pitfall of only criticizing our opposition's programs. Our ideas will be best served by taking the initiative and promoting new solutions to old problems."

The 1990s may prove to be the decade in which conservatives shake off a tendency to self-absorption and become involved in the kind of activism that wins battles. The National Wilderness Institute will provide the tactics and the weaponry to fight the good fight. For more information, write Robert Gordon or Benjamin W. Patton, deputy director, at NWI, 25766 Georgetown Station, Washington, D.C. 20007; or call 703-836-7404.

The Iron's Hot, Mr. President

As, for the *n*th time, Warsaw throws
Oppressors out and thumbs a nose
At Communists still left in town,
We plead with Poles to please pipe down.

W. H. VON DREELE

Not Just a War — A Just War

POWERFULLY conflicting thoughts and emotions continue to surround World War II, as evidenced, for example, by the debate over Paul Fussell's study of the culture pervading the war in his new book, *Wartime* (reviewed by Jeffrey Hart, *NR*, Oct. 13). The *New York Times* devoted its lead editorial on August 31 to rebuking the demythologization of the war by Fussell, and he has been taken to task by Simon Schama and Noel Annan for recounting only part of the story.

Fussell's perspective, brilliantly presented, derives from his own experience as an infantry lieutenant fighting his way across France after the Normandy invasion, yet he abundantly documents the near universality of SNAFU in the global engagement. His existential truths are of the order of Homer's descriptions of the field before Troy, Stephen Crane's accounts in *The Red Badge of Courage*, Hemingway's description of the retreat at Caporetto.

There are, however, other perspectives. Lord Annan attests to the high morale of the RAF fighter pilots in the Battle of Britain, men who had on average a life expectancy of 11 days. They knew they were involved in something momentous.

The statesman's perspective is different again. In 1939, few policymakers knew how weak the nineteenth century's great powers, England and France, had become. France had a four-million-man army, on paper the best in the world. The British fleet supposedly ruled the waves. How illusory all that

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was became clear very quickly.

With the collapse of British and French power, the entry of the United States into the vast adjudication of global power was inevitable. As Jeffrey Hart pointed out in his review of the Fussell book, a Nazi consolidation of power reaching from the Channel to the Urals and a Japanese domination of a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere would have meant an international environment profoundly hostile to the interests of the United States and indeed to the prospects of political freedom generally. A Continental German empire consolidated by Hitler would have been a pagan and regimented barbarism.

On the American side, at least, the war was fought grimly, for most men a job that had to be done. From a geopolitical perspective, and a moral one, it was a war that had to be fought and won.

Robert Penn Warren, RIP

IN THE AUTUMN of 1921, a thin, red-haired youngster from Kentucky enrolled as a freshman at Vanderbilt University and fell in with a group of instructors and fellow students who would soon constitute one of the most influential literary circles in twentieth-century America. The freshman was Robert Penn Warren, known to his friends as "Red" Warren. The leaders of the group were John Crowe Ransom, a member of the English faculty, and Allen Tate, then a student; they published a short-lived but brilliant journal called *The Fugitive*. (What they were "fugitive" from was "the high-cast Brahmins of the Old South," magnolias and Walter Scottism. They were moderns, of their own sort.)

There at Vanderbilt, Robert Penn Warren began one of the most remarkable careers in the annals of American letters—poet, novelist, critic, editor of *The Southern Review* (with Cleanth Brooks), and teacher, last at Yale. The text he co-authored with Brooks, *Understanding Poetry* (1938), instructed a democratized and raw generation (many of them on the G.I. Bill) how to read. It was the most influential book of its kind ever published. Ironically, Brooks and Warren, working from an essentially aristocratic "New Critical" perspective, had prescribed the how-to manual that made mass higher education plausible after 1965.

As a writer, Penn Warren was not in the very first rank. He wrote no poem as good as the best of his friends Ransom and Tate; one certainly cannot rank him with the greatest of the modernists, Yeats and Eliot. His Huey Long novel, *All the King's Men* (1946), brought him fame and fortune and is both powerful and melodramatic, this last a vice which often tended to displace his tragic muse. His criticism remains useful.

But the whole was much greater than the sum of its extensive parts, and was repeatedly accorded the highest honors. He gave himself for some six decades to serious literature, and for the most serious of reasons. With Ransom as their conceptual mentor, those Fugitives of the 1920s knew an important thing: that while science delivers an "edited" or reductive version of actuality, literature delivers the whole: nuance, concreteness, intuition, moral reflection, religious faith, passion—matters not reducible to formulae.

Robert Penn Warren held to that truth with all of his considerable powers, providing a civilizing example. He died at 84 in his summer home in Stratton, Vermont.

A Czar's First Duty

If I were Mr. Bennett, I'd
Squeeze in a tank and take a ride
In wildest Washington to map
A strategy designed to trap
All dopeheads on the
District scene
Before I took on Medellin.

W. H. VON DREELE

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Memo to: Bill
From: Jim [McFadden]

Have you seen the new Nabokov [*Vladimir Nabokov: Selected Letters, 1940–1977*, New York, Harcourt Brace]? It reproduces a letter to you from the great man, dated March 26, 1973. You may have forgotten it, but our readers should see it. Here's a Xerox:

Dear Bill:

It was sad to hear about the chateau disaster, but much sadder to know that you were terribly ill. What was exactly the matter? How are you now? We have certainly missed you this winter.

Véra has been ill for more than two months. She had dreadful pains in the back, finally diagnosed as two slipped discs plus damage to a couple of other vertebrae. She is now much better.

The NATIONAL REVIEW has been always a joy to read, and your articles in the *Herald Tribune* counteract wonderfully the evil and trash of its

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"And now, for the Democratic version of the War on Drugs . . . "

general politics.

Did the copy of *Transparent Things* I sent you through my publisher reach you? I did get the sumptuous *Pound Era* which you were so kind to send me. Though I detest Pound and the costume jewelry of his verse, I must say [Hugh] Kenner's approach is very interesting particularly when he discusses *other* writers of that era, and the real Chinese meaning of Uzura Pound's phony "Chinese."

Awaiting news from you, Véra and I send you and Pat our very best greetings.

Vladimir Nabokov

■ Dear Bill:

When David Klinghoffer interviewed me about my new book *Straight Shooting*, I did indeed tell him that I had considered running for the Senate from Massachusetts. To this remark, Mr. Klinghoffer ("Random Notes," August 18) added the detail that I had considered challenging Senator Kennedy. I suppose Mr. Klinghoffer's intent was to add artistic verisimilitude to an otherwise bald and unconvincing narrative, but he has said the thing that is not. I may well be overconfident, but my severest critics do not say I am suicidal. Yours sincerely

John Silber
President, Boston University

■ Dear Bill:

Despite the complaint by Roger Aeschliman (Aug. 18), *factoid* is a good word, invented, I believe by Norman Mailer. The distinction between fact and factoid does not turn on the degree of triviality but on the user's contempt for truth or his intention to deceive. A factoid is not a simple, honest fiction but a fiction invented by an author to simulate fact in a purportedly factual account, like the William Casey deathbed interview. The author may do this because he is lazy or because he is a scoundrel.

On the other hand, I *have* seen a pernicious construction lately in *NR*. I think it is very low style (on the order of pronouncing *congratulations* as *conGRADulations*) to write *convince him to go*. One should write *persuade him to go*, or *convince him that he should go*, or *convince him of the need to go*. Conviction results in belief; belief sometimes results in action. Persuasion results either in belief or in action without belief (as in the offer you can't refuse).

Cheers.

Richard [de Mille]
Montecito, Calif.

Dear Richard: You convince me. Cordially, Bill

Dear Mr. Buckley:

Roger Aeschliman writes that "factoid" is a non-word. *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language* disagrees:

> **fac.toid** (fak'toid), *n.* something fictitious or unsubstantiated that is presented as fact, devised esp. to gain publicity and accepted because of constant repetition.

Now that the word is established, how about *NR* sponsoring a factoid contest, on the order of the earlier oxymoron contest? I'll start it off with the fiction that increasing the minimum wage helps the poor. Yours truly,

David Skidmore
Springfield, Mo.

Dear Mr. Skidmore: Okay, Let's go, team! Cordially,
—WFB

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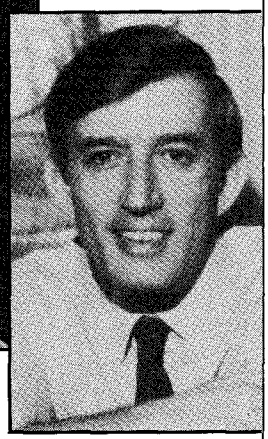
Great Minds. Great Opinions.

James Kilpatrick



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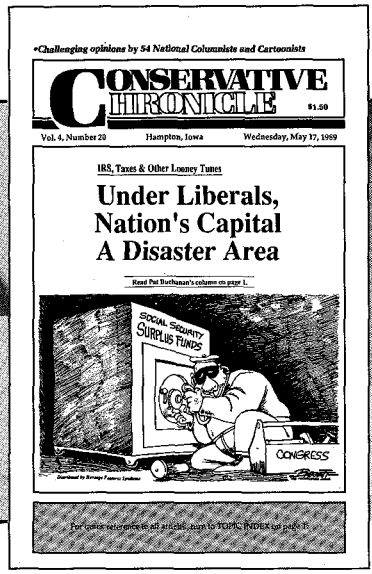
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How to Win an Election

WICK ALLISON

On the political horizon nothing looms larger than the congressional elections of 1990. Not that there's a chance the Republicans can score an upset and win control of the House. The odds are stacked too heavily against them. But it doesn't matter whether they win or lose; it does matter how they play the game.

The Republicans' excuses have run out. If they do not capture the House in the all-important 1992 elections, their status as a permanent minority will be locked in for another generation. In those elections they will have everything going for them: a new census that will move 17 seats or more from the Northeast to the more congenial Southern and Western states; a presidential campaign in which the Democrats will doubtless run a liberal Easterner against the incumbent Republican; a new working majority of Republican-appointed federal judges who can be expected to contain Democratic redistricting mischief; and reforms by the House itself that will reduce the disproportionate clout of the Democratic majority.

In short, 1992 is setting up as the Republicans' year, and the 1990 elections will tell us if the House GOP has the will—and the simple intelligence—to win it.

The signs, however, are not good.

For leadership, the House Republican Conference inexplicably (and unanimously) granted an eighth term to Representative Guy Vander Jagt as chairman of the National Republican Campaign Committee. Mr. Vander Jagt first captured this job in 1975, and over the next few years led House Republicans to some impressive gains. But in modern politics, that's ancient (i.e., pre-Reagan) history. The hard facts are that since 1981, while polls have recorded the largest gain among voters for the GOP in modern history, the number of Republicans in the House has dropped from 192 to 175.

Mr. Allison is publisher of NR.

Mr. Vander Jagt's only response to this dismal performance has been to hire Ed Rollins, a Beltway politician who has never run a single congressional campaign.

Mr. Rollins's contract is worth $1 million, which is quite in line with the NRCC's capacity for wasting money. In that regard, House Republicans do almost as well as the Federal Government they would like to manage. Since 1980 the NRCC has raised just over $200 million (compared to $43 million raised by its Democratic counterpart). This amounts to $11.8 million for each seat it has lost. If this were a consumer case, Republican donors would have cause for a class-action suit.

The NRCC has spent $11.8 million for each House seat Republicans have lost since 1980.

For strategy, House Republicans will probably dust off the same game plan that has done such damage in the past. They will try the "national referendum" gambit that attempts to associate the local GOP candidate with a popular Republican President. This has not worked in the past four elections, and for three reasons. One, ours is not a parliamentary system; the President will be President no matter who is elected to the House. Two, Tip O'Neill was right: local issues are more important than national issues in a local race, and House races are local races. Three, in an era of perceived economic well-being, the national mood favors incumbents; instead of "throw the bums out," the feeling is "don't mess things up." So the GOP's strategy becomes a fist aimed at its own chin.

In the six months remaining before the 1990 campaigns get started, is there a way to turn this around? Maybe, if House Republicans can summon the will to do it. The first sign they are serious will come when Vander Jagt steps down. If he can't bring himself to do that, his fellow leaders ought to provide some not-too-gentle guidance on the question.

The second step is the easiest: start the tactical work now. Republicans have available to them campaign expertise, money, the White House, and a keen politician in Lee Atwater. Pinpoint the winnable districts for 1990. Recruit premium candidates, dump the expensive and incompetent NRCC Washington bureaucracy, and put the resources into state and local organizations that know the districts.

The third step will be what makes the difference. Campaigns are battles of ideas, and Republican candidates rarely have any. Yet many of the domestic issues Congress deals with touch raw nerves at home. Those issues are drugs, crime, welfare, public housing, and schools. A poll for the House Democrats last month showed the public wants Congress to get tough on these issues.

What does that mean? It means the public understands that the old Great Society infrastructure of federal entitlements and massive government is collapsing about us. House Republicans have an unprecedented opportunity to present an alternative for the Nineties.

That alternative is *empowerment*, a code word stolen from the New Left. It encompasses a new GOP effort to take power back from the Federal Government and put it in the hands of communities and individuals.

House Republicans should write their own platform for the 1990 elections. It would be the first mid-term platform in GOP history. They should spell out how their empowerment solutions would work in local communities. They should lay out a strategy of restoring human dignity, of engendering self-reliance, and of encouraging local creativity to solve local problems.

Forget the so-called national issues and forget a national campaign. With a platform to stand on that squarely addresses the public's alarm about deteriorating social conditions, Republican candidates can face the voters with a message that makes sense where it counts: at home. □

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Unhealthy, Unwealthy, and Worse

SUSAN MANDEL

Jennifer Lawson

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Only in America . . . We spend more than $550 billion on health care each year and still have a system in crisis. In fact, the U.S. spends an even larger percentage of its GNP on health care than do countries with socialized medicine.

If Congress has its way we may soon be spending even more, for worse coverage. Under today's system, itself a creation of Congress, prices are driven sky high because most people don't pay for their own medical care directly: it is paid for either through insurance premiums, or through taxes (via Medicare or Medicaid). This in turn bloats demand and drives medical inflation to the point where it is now twice the regular consumer price index and represents the fastest-growing part of the budgets of both government and business. Yet the proposed solutions call for more of the same, with a coalition gelling in favor of some form of national health insurance.

Senator Edward Kennedy has long been leading the national-health-care parade. This term, he tried a slightly different tack with a minimum-health-care bill, whereby employers would have to provide workers with a federally approved insurance package. When his bill ran into serious opposition because of its price tag (estimated at a whopping $108 to $159 billion a year, the burden of which would have fallen largely on small businesses), he threw his weight behind a bi-partisan Senate proposal that doesn't look much better. It would build on the present system by expanding government programs and further distorting the tax system with more incentives for employers to over-insure, again exacerbating the problem of third-party payment. The proposal should be ready by the end of this month, and its sponsors hope to introduce it next January.

The surprising thing is that to this unhealthy chorus a number of respectable people are adding their voices: the heads of Fortune 500 companies. Even more surprising, a recent poll of small-business managers, traditionally the most conservative businessmen, found 30 per cent in favor of a government solution. "Kennedy wants to hand the problem to business and business wants to hand it to government," notes John Goodman, Director of the National Center for Policy Analysis. "Employers are foolish for thinking somehow they're going to turn over the problem to government. What's going to be turned over to the government is control of the hospitals. The bill for it will belong to the employers."

But this is the aspect of the proposals that no one wants to talk about. Last year President Reagan signed into law the catastrophic-illness measure, which only modestly raised Medicare benefits but spurred a full-fledged tax revolt among the mostly middle-class senior citizens who are going to have to foot the bill; the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, Richard Darman, opposes any repeal of the unpopular measure because he wants the $5 billion in revenue it will bring in this year. [See also "Right Data," p. 29.]

The elderly are not the only ones concerned with price tags. Faced with premiums that rose an average of 29 per cent last year and unions that refuse to pay any more for their health care (which was the issue in the recent Baby Bell strikes around the nation), big business is beginning to see dumping the problem on the government as the only way out. "How would you like to compete with this albatross around your neck called runaway health-care costs?" Chrysler chief Lee Iacocca asked one *Wall Street Journal* reporter.

Are people at least getting what they're indirectly paying for? Not really, because government- and employer-based health plans are typically more pre-paid medical care than they are insurance. The structure is completely backward: the routine care that most people can afford (e.g., checkups, office visits, glasses) is covered—but catastrophic long-term illnesses that can wipe out a family's entire savings are not. With most Americans receiving unlimited access to routine health care at no direct cost to themselves, it's no surprise they use so much of it and the cost rises so fast. It's the same incentive as going out to dinner and splitting the bill equally, rather than according to what each member of the party consumes.

Liberals on the Hill love this, because the answer is a perpetual cycle of ever greater government involvement to deal with the original government-created problem. For example, Congress has already resorted to setting prices for hospitals to control Medicare spending and is about to do the same for doctors, which will have the same effect as any other price controls. "It's the old illusion that the government can take something off the profit margin of private operators and it doesn't hurt the people," says Thomas Miller of

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the Competitive Enterprise Institute. The way to help people is to try to reduce rather than inflate the government's role here. For example, eliminating state laws that require insurers to cover specific diseases and services (which can include everything from chiropractic care to *in vitro* fertilization) would mean more options for cheaper, no-frills policies, Goodman says, making coverage affordable for a fourth of the uninsured population. Congress could also help by removing the incentives in the tax code that encourage over-coverage, which drives up the price of both insurance and care. Ed Haislmaier of the Heritage Foundation argues for getting rid of the tax incentives for employers to provide coverage and having them give employees the cash instead. The average cost per employee of such plans is $3,117; if workers had the choice of how to spend this money they would then have an incentive to consume less unnecessary health care because they would pocket the savings.

Here on the Hill there is no sign that any of this is going to happen. Congress wants more of the same. Business wants to wash its hands of the whole mess. Ronald Reagan made it worse by signing the catastrophic-illness plan last year, and George Bush is sticking to it because his budget director wants to meet the Gramm–Rudman targets at any cost.

"The fundamental problem in health care is [the notion] that economics should have nothing to do with it," says Peter Ferrara of the Cato Institute. "You can't run 10 per cent of the economy on a sound basis with the idea that the sky's the limit." □

Holiday in Cambodia

JOHN R. THOMSON

Jennifer Lawson

NORTHERN CAMBODIA—A full moon; softly, noiselessly, forty miles and thirty hours from their border crossing, 150 guerrillas infiltrate three target areas. One-third surround a defended munitions dump; one-third, a fortified supply dump; the remainder set up an ambush outside a protected installation where four tanks are on standby alert. They meet no resistance as they draw near: the defending indigenous forces are, simply, afraid to patrol, despite the efforts of their foreign advisors.

The invaders drive two small herds of cattle in front of them to clear the defensive mine fields. The remnants of one herd, followed by the attacking troops, reach the barbed-wire perimeter of the supply dump after three explosions. The outpost falls quickly, with twenty defenders killed and sizable caches of arms, food, clothing, and building materials destroyed.

At the munitions dump, two cows simultaneously trigger mines, causing the rest of the herd to scatter. A lengthy firefight ensues. The assault fails, and two attackers are killed. The guerrillas carry away their dead, so that next morning the defenders will not know of even this small success. The tanks never move.

It sounds like reports from Vietnam twenty years ago—but this operation took place in Cambodia earlier this summer. The attackers were part of the Armée Nationale Sihanoukiste (ANS), one of two non-Communist freedom-fighting factions in Cambodia. (The other is the Khmer People's National Liberation Front, KPNLF). The defenders were soldiers of the puppet Heng Samrin regime in Phnom Penh. And their advisors were members of the Vietnamese Army, which invaded Cambodia in 1979 and deposed the genocidal Khmer Rouge regime of Khieu Samphan and Pol Pot.

The head of the ANS is Prince Norodom Sihanouk. Considered finished after his overthrow by Lon Nol in 1970, Sihanouk has once again become a key player on the Cambodian scene. Management of day-to-day activity, however, increasingly lies with his son Prince Norodom Rannarith, the chief of staff, and his three professional military deputies. First deputy chief of staff in charge of operations is Prince Norodom Chakrapong, Rannarith's half-brother, a bristling field commander in his early forties. Second deputy for logistics, Tea Chamrith, is the son of rice farmers; now in his mid forties, he was trained by the U.S. Marine Corps. After the Vietnamese invaded Cambodia in 1979 he fled to the U.S., worked at 11 jobs in two years, and was robbed three times. "It was safer to come back to the frontier and go back to war," he notes with some irony. Third deputy for research and planning is Toan Chay, 51, who enlisted in the Khmer Air Force after graduation from medical school in 1970. Trained at U.S. Air Force fa-cilities in Texas, Florida, and California, he flew tactical air-support missions against the Khmer Rouge.

Why have such men gathered to Sihanouk's banner? For all his fecklessness in the 1960s, Sihanouk stood by his countrymen through their later misery, when everyone knew his family had the wealth to live anywhere they wished. The Norodoms are the living symbol of potential Khmer unity, at a time when the Khmers face the genuine possibility of extinction as a national entity.

And that—extinction of the Cambodian nation—appears to be just what the occupying Vietnamese have in mind. Admittedly, their invasion did halt the Khmer Rouge holocaust when the United Nations refused to act in 1970. But by 1987, the occupiers had resettled more than seven hundred thousand Vietnamese peasants in fertile southeastern Cambodia. Today, ANS and KPNLF leaders estimate the total of Vietnamese homesteaders to be well over one million. The

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Sihanoukist spokesman for external affairs, Keo Puth Rasmey, sees both sides of the issue clearly: "The Vietnamese want fertile land for their people. We see this land as integral to the Khmer people; without it, we are half a land."

Both non-Communist resistance groups are implacably opposed not only to the Vietnamese and their puppets, but also to the third resistance group, the Khmer Rouge, supplied by the Red Chinese. They stress that nothing in the Khmer Rouge leadership has changed. When Congressman Stephen Solarz (D., N.Y.) visited a refugee camp on the Thai–Cambodian border last winter, he asked the four thousand refugees he was speaking to, to raise their hands if anyone in their immediate family had been lost during the Khmer Rouge regime. According to a member of Solarz's party, "there was silence for a moment, and then every single person in the crowd raised a hand. It was the most convincing testimony I have ever witnessed."

The month-long Paris peace conference in August clearly demonstrated the intransigence of both the Khmer Rouge and the Phnom Penh government. The French had hoped to set up a four-party coalition government to run the country until elections could be held, but Phnom Penh would not agree to a governing role for the Khmer Rouge, but only representation on the electoral commission. Sihanouk argued that the strongest military force in the country, however odious, must be taken into account in order to secure a lasting peace, and his point was reluctantly (and shamefully) supported by the U.S. delegation. But when Peking, followed by Sihanouk *and* its clients, the Khmer Rouge, signaled late in the conference that it might accept a diminished Khmer Rouge role in the hypothetical coalition government, the Hun Sen regime refused to make a counteroffer. So the conference broke down: a plus for the Khmer Rouge, who hope for outright victory under Chinese sponsorship, and for the puppet regime, which hopes to survive by portraying itself as the only practical alternative to another bloodbath.

Indeed, some observers find it entirely possible that both the Khmer Rouge and the Vietnamese may be able to win by conference what they could not by conquest. Several Western governments appear determined to provide "humanitarian" aid to Hanoi, no matter what it does. As a senior Western diplomat observed at the conference, "It is hardly believable we could accept the Vietnamese position that there should be no coordinated UN presence coincident with the Vietnamese withdrawal. What do they have to hide? We ought to tell them, 'Either accept UN involvement or receive no economic aid.' They would agree in a minute." As it is, Hanoi has promised to withdraw its troops this month. According to Rannarith, the Vietnamese "are leaving because they think there will be bloody fighting among the Khmers once they are gone, fighting which they think will enable them to keep eastern Cambodia."

Meanwhile, it remains depressingly unclear whether and to what extent Congress will fund the Cambodian non-Communists. Senator Alan Cranston (D., Calif.), for example, wants guarantees that arms sent to the ANS will not be channeled to the Khmer Rouge. In answer, Rannarith points to a senior military aide: "He lost four of his family in the Khmer Rouge slaughter. Would he let me give them arms?" The May visit of Vice President and Mrs. Quayle was a great morale boost. "If this can happen," said one leader, "surely open recognition and support by the United States will come soon."

There does not seem to be morality or practical hope either in backing one of the Communist factions or in supporting a coalition government that gives them a prominent role. There is too much blood on their hands. (Heng Samrin and Hun Sen were responsible for the murder of more than 250,000 Cambodians when they served the Khmer Rouge in the Seventies.) Rather, the U.S. should openly endorse and aid the ANS and KPNLF, while setting clear ground rules for them to follow. One such rule: drop insistence on the inclusion of the Khmer Rouge in a coalition government.

Great-power politics should not be used simply to find a regional "solution," but to do what we can to assure the Khmer people an ethnic and national identity in a governing format of their own choosing. Vietnam could profit almost as much from establishing free and open trade relations with a reinvigorated Cambodia as from absorbing its eastern territory. China's own internal turmoil and external reputation are such that there could be no better time to urge that it desist from further support to the Khmer Rouge.

One Western diplomat, a veteran of Southeast Asian politics, summed it all up succinctly: "I have never had to confront a situation this tragic. . . . One and a half or two million people can perish; anti-Communist forces can control a third of the country with very limited outside help; yet, we seem to view the Cambodians as nothing more than a bargaining chip for greater regional objectives. The Khmers deserve better, but I have my doubts they will get it." □

It's Not All Brideshead Revisited

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

Jennifer Lauson

LONDON—To see a good argument muffed is always frustrating. In a highly publicized lecture, Rupert Murdoch, who a few months ago launched Britain's first satellite television service, argued that it was a snobbish fallacy to regard British television as being, in general, superior to American television. He's right: but he was distractingly wrong in thinking that the trouble with British

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television is epitomized by "upmarket costume soap operas, played out in a rigid class-conscious setting." If *Upstairs, Downstairs* were typical of British television, there would be no cause for complaint.

Anyway, lightnings of disapproval immediately rained on Mr. Murdoch's head, the latest barrage in a great howl of rage and fear which has gone up from Britain's cultural establishment ever since Mrs. Thatcher's government revealed its plan to liberate, more or less, the television airwaves.

Such intense fury becomes explicable only when one looks more closely at the origins of this clamor. It comes from people who don't really like television, from politicians who don't watch television, from professional busybodies, who always think they know what's best for other people, and from the present makers and controllers of British television, threatened with the loss of their fifty-year-old monopoly.

One regional station took a full page in the national press for what must surely rank among the most counter productive advertisements ever devised. It showed an extremely pretty girl in a state of undress. The accompanying text claimed that she was an Italian housewife doing a striptease on Rome's deregulated television, and asked British viewers if they really wanted that sort of thing on their screens. Before the cries of "Yes! Yes!" had died down, investigative journalists revealed that the girl was not an Italian housewife at all but an English photographic model, and that the station was itself planning a late-night sex show dressed up as sociology.

FROM THE BEGINNING, every move to increase Britain's meager ration of television has been opposed. When the BBC launched the world's first television service in 1936, the innovation was widely deprecated, not least by the BBC's own management, as a frivolous whim. When, long after the war, transmission hours were gradually increased, abolishing the so-called "toddlers' truce" in early evening (when mothers were loftily presumed to be reading to their children or tucking them into bed), fresh lamentations arose. Any programs shown after about 10:30 at night were, and still are, dismissed as being "for insomniacs." A second BBC channel was eventually launched on the specific understanding that it would be more "serious" and "cultural."

The biggest row was provoked in the early 1950s by a campaign for the introduction of a commercial channel, financed by advertising. Lord Reith, the former Director General of the BBC, thundered in the House of Lords: "Somebody introduced smallpox, bubonic plague, and the Black Death into Britain. Somebody is minded now to introduce sponsored broadcasting." The campaign, however, was very skillfully organized; and so commercial television was born, under the censorious eye of an Independent Broadcasting Authority, charged with keeping the anticipated flood of immorality in check. Channel 3 immediately proved so popular that no subsequent government dared touch it.

MANY MORE YEARS passed before a second commercial channel, Channel 4, was allowed, and even then only on condition that it should concentrate on specialist and minority interests; a brief gladly taken by its left-inclined management to mean that it should include programs appealing to homosexual, feminist, and immigrant groups. And that's the lot, still.

Rapid technical advance would soon have forced a change even had Mrs. Thatcher's government not acted; preventing satellite transmissions from abroad would be virtually impossible. The government's main proposals are that there should be a fifth, and if possible a sixth, "terrestrial" channel, two new multi-program satellite channels, and numerous local services through cable and microwave, and that the money should come from advertising or subscription. There will be a Broadcasting Standards Council to "protect" the viewer (poor trembling viewer) from indecent and violent programs.

Americans may wonder what all the fuss is about: but fuss there surely has been. The Chairman of the Independent Broadcasting Authority said the government had "gone overboard"; the proposals might result in "a period of near-anarchy" and could drive the BBC "into a sort of cultural ghetto." Some IBA officials said they wanted to "go into a corner and sob." The arts lobby waxed quite hysterical. "The best we can hope for," wrote the playwright and novelist John Mortimer, "are re-runs of American serials, old movies, mindless game shows, and a little news done on the cheap." He maintained that, although the British public wanted "good drama and intelligent and well-filmed news programs," they would be fobbed off with "second-hand, second-rate rubbish."

The constant references to "cheap imports," "American serials," and old movies show the level of cliché at which the argument about program quality tends to be conducted. What about first-rate rubbish and expensive imports? *War and Remembrance*, shown recently, can hardly have been cheap, whereas *60 Minutes*, shown at 4 A.M., must have been bought for a song. *The Thorn Birds* was greatly enjoyed in Britain: but the BBC was heavily criticized for spending money on such nonsense. If *Dallas*, *Dynasty*, and old movies are among the most popular things on television, by what right does any superior person wish to restrict their supply?

There is a genuine clash of cultural values, or tastes, involved; which seems in itself a good reason for opening up the market. But this dispute, like all the previous disputes about television, illustrates again that the strongest opinions about what should be shown tend to be held by those who watch least. Neither British nor American television actually conforms to the model which admirers of the former and detractors of the latter customarily project.

No one doubts that British television drama can be wonderfully good, although the frequency with which *Brideshead Revisited* and *The Jewel in the Crown* have been mentioned suggests that examples are not unlimited. *Yes, Minister* and *Rumpole of the Bailey* are indeed a joy: but they are not typical. American viewers see virtually all the best, but very few of the worst, British programs. The majority of single plays are left-wing, highbrow, and wantonly unpopular.

Most British situation comedies, on the other hand, are ostentatiously lowbrow and extraordinarily feeble. Other kinds of comedy program aspire to the humor of a dirty postcard. There is nothing to rival *Cheers*. Or

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RIGHT DATA

Taxing the Elderly

Most Americans face lower tax rates now than at the start of this decade, the top marginal tax rate having been slashed from 70 per cent to 28 per cent. But according to a study published by the Dallas-based National Center for Policy Analysis (NCPA), two tax changes enacted during the past few years are preventing elderly, middle-class workers from deriving any benefit whatever from the Reagan-era tax cuts.

First, there is the taxation of Social Security benefits. Since 1983, for each additional (taxable) dollar earned by certain Social Security recipients (couples with non–Social Security income over $32,000; singles with non–Social Security income above $25,000), 50 cents of their benefits from Social Security become taxable as well. Thus while non-elderly workers face tax rates of from 15 per cent to 28 per cent, elderly workers are facing tax rates that are, effectively, one and a half times as high, ranging from 22.5 per cent to 42 per cent.

On top of this there is the Medicare surtax imposed this year to cover the cost of catastrophic-illness insurance. Calculated as $22.50 per every $150 of federal income tax, the surtax raises effective tax rates by another 15 per cent, to as high as 48.3 per cent. Although the Administration is having second thoughts about it, as things currently stand the surtax rate will rise to 28 per cent in 1993, meaning that elderly taxpayers will be paying the IRS 53.8 cents for each dollar of additional earnings.

When you factor in the impact of the "earnings test," which causes workers to lose $1 in Social Security benefits for every $2 in earnings (in effect a 50 per cent tax on earnings), many elderly workers are actually better off earning less than trying to earn more. The NCPA study found, for example, that an elderly widow earning twice the minimum wage would see her total income fall by $27 if she were to get a $1,000 raise. A married man earning $8,800 would experience an $18 decline in after-tax income if he were foolish enough to accept a $1,000 raise. These absurd marginal rates do not apply to the richest elderly, who already pay the maximum amount of surtax and benefits tax, but to those with non–Social Security income between $20,000 and $45,000 per year.

The assumption would be that at least the rest of us gain from these inequities imposed on older Americans—but not so. Today 83 per cent of all men and 92 per cent of all women over the age of 65 are completely retired. Considering only the healthy individuals in this group, the United States has lost about 17.5 million workers—some 14 per cent of the total civilian labor force. If one-third of the retired men aged sixty and over re-entered the labor market, even if they earned as little as $5 per hour, national income would rise by $58 billion, generating an additional $12 billion in income and Social Security taxes.

So far, the entry of married women into the labor force has more than made up for the withdrawal of the elderly, but this bonanza will not last forever. By the year 2030, according to the Social Security Administration, there will be only two workers for every retiree—compared to 17 in 1950.

—Ed Rubenstein

Hill Street Blues. Or *Kate and Allie*. The worst British crime series are just as full of gratuitous violence and exploding motor cars as anything from Hollywood: the best come nowhere near the wit and the taut construction of *Cagney and Lacey*. Indeed, if it were not for the quotas imposed by foreign governments, American programs would indeed dominate the television screens of the world. This is not, as the nationalist lobbies maintain, simply because American programs can be obtained more cheaply, but because Hollywood, even now, is to the making of screen entertainment what France is to the making of wine.

The BBC's classic children's serials are admirable, but no better than *Little House on the Prairie*. *Dr. Who* is simply silly compared with *Star Trek*. Elsewhere in the schedules the lowest depths of "youth culture" are unashamedly plumbed. British soap operas contrast interestingly with their American equivalents, not so much in quality as in style. Whereas American soaps generally appeal to the dreams of an upwardly mobile society, the British soaps—*Coronation Street*, *Eastenders*, *Brookside*—are all downmarket, grimy, nostalgic for a pre-Thatcherite working-class way of life.

Many British game shows are weak copies of American originals: and, if Britain has so far avoided the worst excesses of trash television, neither does it have any chat-show as reliable as Johnny Carson's. British news bulletins used to be conspicuously more grown-up and less parochial than the American bulletins: but the difference is not so obvious now, and Britain has nothing as useful as CNN. Viewers in New York are offered seven times as much local news as Londoners can receive.

Serious discussion programs and cultural programs are no less available in America, but, because there is so much more choice, they can be avoided by viewers wanting easier entertainment. This possibility of escape is just what alarms Britain's cultural establishment. The BBC's admitted philosophy has always been that viewers should be snared by a mix of programs into watching what's good for them. In practice, many things which might be desirable in a multi-channel system—complete live coverage of the party political conferences, interminable darts and snooker matches, worthy programs about mental defectives—become intolerable when there are only four channels. Not infrequently in Britain there is, at any given moment, literally nothing on television which most people would wish to see. The cultural mandarins tend to dismiss public opinion, expressed by the ratings, as though it were a positively distasteful criterion. Nothing odd, apparently, in treating the man in the street as though he were fit to choose governments but not his own television programs.

America already has not only the most television in the world but the freest. Freedom is a very rare commodity. In this respect, as in many others, grumbling Americans don't realize how lucky they are. □

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CULTURE VULTURES

Civilization and Its Malcontents

Who would describe writers as diverse and rambunctious as Shakespeare and Aristophanes, Plato and Nietzsche, as univocal spokesmen for a political agenda? Try a Stanford University professor.

SIDNEY HOOK

THE CURRENT crisis of education in the United States may legitimately be characterized as an attempt to politicize the curriculum itself. Those who have provoked it contend that the existing curriculum in the humanities is already politicized in virtue of the fact that its basic texts have been composed by Western white males and that, in consequence, the required courses are intrinsically infected with racism, sexism, and imperialism. The remedy proposed for this deplorable situation is that the traditional texts be partly replaced and supplemented by books composed by women and people of color and by representatives of the oppressed classes of the past and present, and, further, that the study of foreign cultures in depth be required. To ensure that these texts be properly taught, it is urged that additional personnel of instruction, wherever possible, be recruited from minorities and women, if there is any doubt about the willingness or capacity of existing faculties to do so.

This transformation or revision (call it what you will) has been carried out fully at Stanford University, and criticized in some educational circles as a politicizing of a curriculum designed for other purposes. Such criticism has provoked the rejoinder from the architects of the new curriculum that the criticism is itself politically oriented—indeed, an expression of the same repressive politics embodied in the canonic texts of the course in Western culture. Even before these developments, in a Report to Congress on *The Humanities in America*, Lynn Cheney, the present chair of the National Endowment for the Humanities, had deplored the fact that, in the teaching of the humanities on every level, "viewing humanities texts as though they were primarily political documents is the most noticeable trend in academic study of the humanities today. Truth and beauty and excellence are regarded as irrelevant, questions of aesthetic and intellectual quality dismissed." Her report has been subjected to strong criticism by a committee of the American Council of Learned Societies as itself a political document.

I am going to devote my main analysis to the concept of the "political" in this discussion, and to the way its different connotations are being employed to obfuscate the issues. Before doing this, I wish to state a few assumptions, which I am prepared to defend if challenged, that relate to the humanities curriculum.

WE ACKNOWLEDGE or assume that what differentiates the disciplines in the humanities, as they are understood today, from other disciplines is their central concern with human values, their interconnection with and imaginative representation in human experience. We acknowledge the desirability of including a broadly based course in the humanities as a curricular *requirement* to provide all students with the legacy of their culture, and with an understanding of the conflicting cultural traditions of the past that have shaped the present. The materials in such study have provided us in part with the basic categories of our thought and language, the conceptual tools, sentiments, and dispositions with which we approach the central problems of reflective life, whatever our geography or region. We acknowledge that such study for many reasons cannot constitute the whole of the school's curriculum—that at most it will be confined to one year, preferably at the outset of the students' careers, before specialization begins. We acknowledge that there cannot be, in a decentralized educational system such as ours, only one program, however ideal, or a set of syllabi for a course of this character, whatever it is called, and that the diversification will reflect local resources, capacities, and opportunities. Finally, we acknowledge that whatever texts are selected for a course of this character, they are not eternally fixed; they can be varied from time to time,

Last June, a few weeks before his death, Professor Hook offered NR *this article, which turned out to be the last one he ever wrote. We are honored to publish it in conjunction with* Measure, *the publication of the University Centers for Rational Alternatives, with which Professor Hook was closely associated.*

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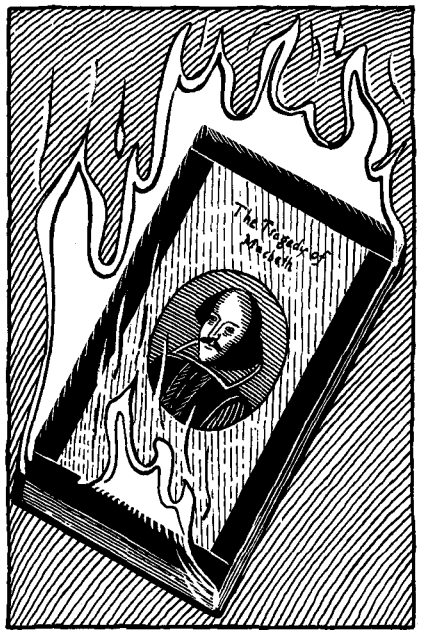
reflecting available talents and shifting interests, without affecting the overall goal of providing students from all backgrounds a unitary, but not uniform, educational experience whose existence can be built on whatever educational and vocational differentiation follows.

THE FIRST point I want to make, on the basis of a survey of courses in Western culture or civilization more or less like those previously offered at Stanford, is that, despite what their detractors have claimed, they are *not* a glorification of the status quo. On the contrary, the required reading gives an understanding of how the status quo has come into being, presents some of the revolutionary ideas that helped it come into being, and explores the struggle and debate among the great maps of personal and social salvation whose promises and dangers still engage our interest. As a matter of fact, it is from a curriculum of similar studies in Paris or London that some leaders of Third World countries absorbed the ideas and ideals they used to rally their peoples against colonialism. In truth, since the standard texts express conflicting ideals, they could hardly lend themselves coherently to any one point of view. But their grasp and analysis is required by anyone who seeks intelligently to transform or conserve our society. Whether it is the ideals of tolerance, the limitations of ethnocentrism, the visions of Utopia without which Wilde said no map of the world is complete—all are contained in every well-tailored course in the humanities. Any intelligent student who has completed such a course, if and when he acquaints himself with other cultures, can hardly help concluding that of all cultures of which we have any record, Western culture has been the most critical of itself, that its history has largely been a succession of heresies, and that it has been freer of the blind spots of ethnocentrism than any other.



More directly, addressing myself to the charge that courses in Western culture have been racist, sexist, and imperialistic, despite renewed requests, no one has ever cited *specific* evidence that any of the basic texts has been systematically taught in the spirit and attitude of invidious discrimination that these terms currently have. There was certainly no evidence of this in any of the tracks of the course at Stanford, although, like all courses, they invited improvement. Of course, in discussing Greek drama, we cannot but become aware of how different the status of women was in the classical world from what it is in our own. But we would be guilty of the grossest distortion of scholarship if we denied the fact. Effective teaching can take one of its points of exploration from it whether we are reading the *Medea* or discussing the startling feminist views in Plato's *Republic*. Indeed, Plato's *Republic* in the hands of a good teacher lends itself to the exciting counterposition of arguments and themes on a whole variety of subjects that possess contemporary vibrancy, like the temptations of censorship, the defects of democracy, and the snares of totalitarianism. Nor should we forget for a moment that no text imposes one reading on all interpreters of its meaning.

At this point we are likely to hear that the absence of women and people of color among the authors of the basic texts is evidence of the inherent bias with which such courses are infected. Where, it is asked, is the imaginative presentation of the life of the common people—the spear-carriers, the hewers of wood and drawers of water—of the victimization of women from Biblical days, of the mute and inglorious lives of slaves, especially the black slaves? The texts of courses in Western culture, it is asserted, were written by elite members of Western society for the elite, and they therefore slight the contributions of women and minority groups, without whom there would be no culture at all.

The naiveté of the complaint reflects the political commitment of those who level it, not their historical judgment. Of course the culture of the past was created by the elites of the past! Who else could have created it at a time when literacy itself was the monopoly of the elite classes? It was that creation, winnowed by the criticism of successive elites, that produced our culture. And the quality of that creation is not affected by its origins. It was none other than Karl Marx himself, steeped to his very pores in the elite classical culture of the West, who declared that although Greek art and epics are products of a class society, "they still constitute a source of aesthetic enjoyment and in certain respects prevail as the standard and model beyond attainment." He was not looking for a proletarian or slave art that did not exist, but wanted to make the best of art and culture developed in every society part of the cultural birthright of the working classes. To be sure, we may be curious to know how and why the masses and women were excluded from the creative cultural institutions of the past, and why they were confined to the kitchens and workplaces and denied the light of learning. These are legitimate questions explored in a wide variety of other courses in sociology, politics, the sciences, economic history, and anthropology open to inquiring student minds. But to introduce all of these studies into a course in the *humanities* is to dilute it into a very thin soup of social smatter.

The notion that the course in Western culture can be enriched by adding, to its core list of readings, books by women and persons of color not because they are the best or most appropriate for the subject in hand, but because of the race or sex or class of the author—a kind of affirmative-action program in scholarship—is both patronizing and ludicrous from the standpoint of honest scholarship. And it compounds the folly when tacked onto this is a mandate to recruit "women and people of color" to teach the ideas and aspects of culture that involve them. This is nothing more than a sophisticated revival of the old folk fantasy, and just as absurd, that only like can understand like. Does one have to be French to study or understand Napoleon, Russian to understand Lenin,

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Greek to read Homer or enjoy the figures of Praxiteles? As well argue that men cannot be good gynecologists, that only women with children can understand and administer family law, that only fat physicians can study obesity and hungry ones the physiology of starvation, as to assert or imply that people of color or women are uniquely qualified to do justice to the place, achievements, and oppressions of minorities and their culture. Was it not a white male and, to boot, a foreigner, a Swede, who in *An American Dilemma* moved the conscience of this country in recent times on the race question more than any other person before the appearance of Martin Luther King?

THERE IS only one genuine educational question broached by the situation at Stanford, which, unfortunately, had little to do with the actual decision made there but which has occasionally been asked and discussed elsewhere, notably at a national conference at Michigan State University a few years ago. Granted that Western culture is now operating in a world of global issues enveloping the entire world, should the required basic course we have been proposing be taught as a course in world culture or world civilization rather than as one in Western culture or civilization? If so, its core list would have to contain the great works of different peoples and cultures, the kind of literature, art, and history that denizens of these foreign cultures have been nurtured in. But could that be done in an educationally fruitful way? There are many reasons to doubt this. A great work that has exercised its influence on a culture is approached with a mindset that in part has been determined by the influence of that work. The Japanese student reading *The Tale of the Genji*, the Chinese student reading Confucius's *Analects*, or the Indian the *Bhagavad Gita*, has a knowledge of its symbols and world view that is certainly not beyond the grasp or comprehension of the American student, but which manifestly would take him years to acquire. He hasn't the background with which he approaches the Gospels or even Shakespeare. He cannot unmake himself and grow into these other cultures as he did in his own. So although he can contrast and compare the way the Golden Rule is formulated positively and negatively in Rabbi Hillel, the New Testament, Buddha, and Lao Tze, it cannot serve in any formulation as a key to the whole culture without the student knowing much more than even his teachers are likely to know. The point of building bridges of understanding to other cultures is to prepare students, using familiar examples, for the encounter of visiting them and imaginatively empathizing with them, not for living in them. Whatever the global future will be, it is not likely to result in a homogeneous global culture. There will not be one global village but a plurality of global villages.

The study and history of humanities in the West certainly touches the borders of other cultures. But it is the humanists themselves, in pursuit of their pedagogical and research tasks, who know what is to be studied and when. The motivation of those who legislated that concerns for race, sex, and class be made central in the study of humanities at Stanford and elsewhere was not pedagogical but political. It was stated, often explicitly, that justice or fairness required that the needs of the exploited, oppressed, and hitherto unheard be recognized, that their voices be amplified and their separateness overcome. All worthy objectives of an enlightened political agenda. But however desirable this agenda is, its sphere of activity is the public and legislative forum, not the institutions for the dissemination of wisdom, let alone the curriculum of the humanities. In the study of the humanities, we can legitimately inquire into the influence of political decisions in the past on the ideals and models conceived to represent the best and most enduring in art and literature. But that is quite different from selecting readings in a course or teaching them in order to reshape the politics of the present or future.

This immediately brings the retort that the refusal to orient a course in the humanities politically is itself to take a political position. And so, if we are not careful to make and abide by the proper distinctions, the question of whether a work of art or literature exhibits a political aspect (the answer to which, if we know it, is yes or no) is transformed into the political question of whether we should study a subject at all (the answer to which depends on whether you are a liberal or a conservative, a reformer or a revolutionary).

Let us meet this position head on. Is it true that the refusal to take a stand is itself a political stand? No, unless we are dealing with an explicit political problem, where the act of not taking a stand—say, proclaiming neutrality between an aggressor and his victim—has political consequences affecting everyone. But outside the sphere of partisan political issues, the refusal to take a stand on a disputed issue may mean nothing more than a decision to suspend judgment until more evidence is in. If I refuse to come down on one side or the other of the question of whether Lord Bacon or the Earl of Oxford wrote the plays attributed to Shakespeare, or whether whoever wrote the play *Hamlet* portrayed Hamlet, the character, as genuinely mad or feigning madness or Polonius as a figure of fun or as genuinely a sage, my answer is decidedly *not* political in any ordinary sense of the term. It may be that in the light of overwhelming or preponderant evidence, my continued suspension of judgment could be warrantably called unscholarly, but not political.

IT IS OFTEN said that the choice of any set of books or writings in a course in the humanities is a political choice. What makes it political? That it is a choice? But how arbitrary that would be! Would the choice of textbooks in a course in mathematics be political, too? Certainly not. Even in the case where a teacher was prescribing his own book instead of a clearly better one because of the anticipated royalties, his choice is not political but unethical and unprofessional. It certainly would be odd if anyone characterized the choice of musical works to be studied in a course on music appreciation as "political." There could be all sorts of differences among the architects of such a course—or of any course in the humanities—about the justification for including each or any item, but unless one can show, and not merely assert, that there was a political reason for the selection, it is a plain abuse of what Charles Peirce called the ethics of words to call the choice political.

Why, then, comes the renewed complaint, are there no books by women, workers, people of color in the canon of

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the standard humanities courses? Does not that express a value judgment? To which the manifest answer is that, yes, it does express a value judgment, but *not* a political value judgment about women, workers, and minorities. It is a judgment about which books have had the greatest influence on the culture of our time and of past times, which books have been the sources of renewed delight, intellectual stimulation, and challenge, and which works of literature and art help us best understand our own contemporary culture, related as it is in thousands of ways to the cultural achievements of the past.

POLITICAL passion still sustains the argument. It asks whether the standards of excellence themselves, the criticisms of judgment, even the so-called "eternal values," do not "reflect" the social and class structure of the time. The word "reflect" is one of the most ambiguous terms in the vocabulary of criticism. If a writer or artist accepts the society of his time, his values "reflect" it; if he rejects the society, his action and values necessarily reflect it by his very negation. The question for scholarship is *how* do his values specifically reflect it? And the question whether his work is to be included in the canon of the humanities is answered by considering not whether it reflects *his* society, as in some way it necessarily does, but whether it has something to say of abiding significance to other times and other societies as well. We don't have to use the rhetoric of eternal values to make the point that whatever makes a claim to eternal value must establish its validity as an *enduring* value here and now—that, of course, since all things have a history, values have a history, and that all we can ever mean by intrinsic, perennial, or eternal value is that the book, painting, or musical composition that embodies it *still works its attractive power on us today*, regardless of our political partisanship.

If I refuse to take a stand on whether Lord Bacon or the Earl of Oxford wrote the plays attributed to Shakespeare, my answer is decidedly* not *political in any ordinary sense of the term

What is basically objectionable in the contemporary movement to politicize the humanities is that it conflates different meanings of the term "political." It goes from a sense of "political" that is synonymous with a basic choice in any field—so broad that it lacks an intelligible opposite, so that to be is to be political—to the transparent, conventional sense of the term. In order to conceal that fact, and its relation to its overt political antecedents in the Sixties, those who hold this view fall back on the comprehensive, confusing usage of the term "political" as meaning any choice. Sometimes the exemplars of this movement frankly proclaim they want to reform the humanities program *in order* to shape the political future of the nation. But, *logically*, these goals have nothing to do with each other. One can be for or against the Equal Rights Amendment or the welfare state, regardless of the sex or color of the authors of the books studied. At this point the question, they seem to imply, is one of power, not logic. The situation is accurately characterized by Richard Rorty, who although critical is not himself unsympathetic to some of the social goals of this movement. "A new American cultural Left," he said in a public address at George Mason University (March 1, 1989), "has come into being made of deconstructionists, new historicists, people in gender studies, ethnic studies, media studies, a few left-over Marxists, and so on. This Left would like to use the English, French, and Comparative Literature Departments of the universities as staging areas for political action."

A more representative, and in a sense official, view is expressed by Professor Linda K. Kerber, recent past president of the American Studies Association, in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* (March 29, 1989):

> We have celebrated the speed with which we have discovered diversity—of race, class, gender, and ethnicity. But for all the skepticism, irony, and critical perspectives upon which we pride ourselves, we have remained too much part of the status quo we deplore.
>
> Freed from the defensive constraints of cold-war ideology, empowered by our new sensitivity to the distinctions of race, class, and gender, we are ready to begin to understand difference as a series of power relationships involving domination and subordination, and to use our understanding of power relations to reconceptualize both our interpretation and our teaching of American culture.

Associated with this view and outlook is an attitude which gives me profound concern because it challenges the very notion of objective truth on the ground that the quest for truth is itself affected by interests, which are ultimately tied up with the class structure of society. Accused of reading their own political bias into the interpretation and evaluation of events to further the indoctrination of their students, members of the New Left respond that their critics are themselves biased, that "objectivity" exists in the eye of the beholder, since no one is free from bias. It is not difficult to show that such a position is incoherent, flawed by its own assertions. It is true that no one can claim to know the whole truth about anything, but it by no means follows that all assertions are equally true or false, that we cannot ground some statements on the basis of evidence, as better or truer than others. Indeed, to hold that objectivity is a myth is tantamount to denying the distinction between fiction and history, guilt and innocence, in relation to the admitted evidence.

It is safe to predict that if such modes of thinking take over in the humanities, before long we will be hearing their echoes in medicine and the natural sciences, too. It was a mere fifty years ago that we were hearing about Aryan and Jewish physics and proletarian biology. Today once more there is talk of race, gender, and class not as a subject of scientific study but as characterizing the scientific approach itself. Nonsense, the literature reader will say. To be sure—but we have learned that nonsense, if unchecked, will kill. □

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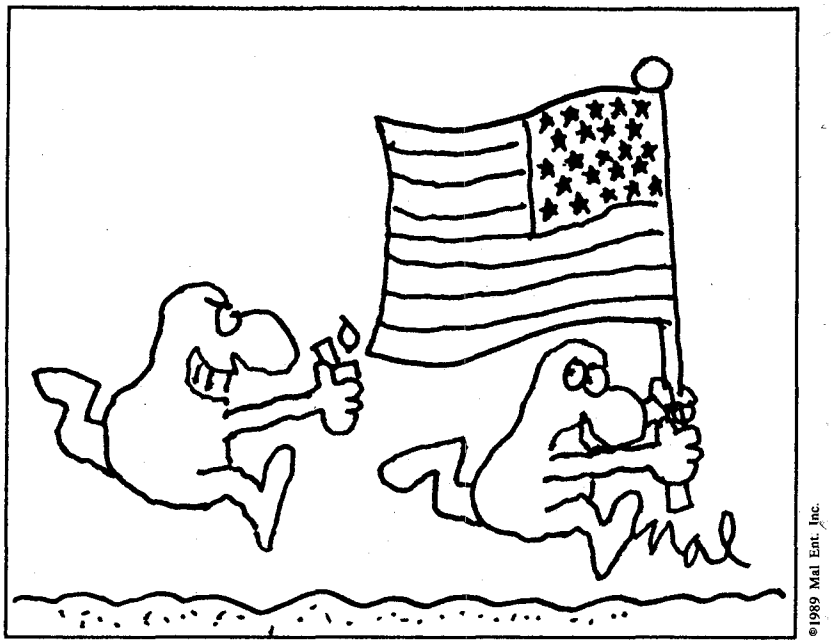
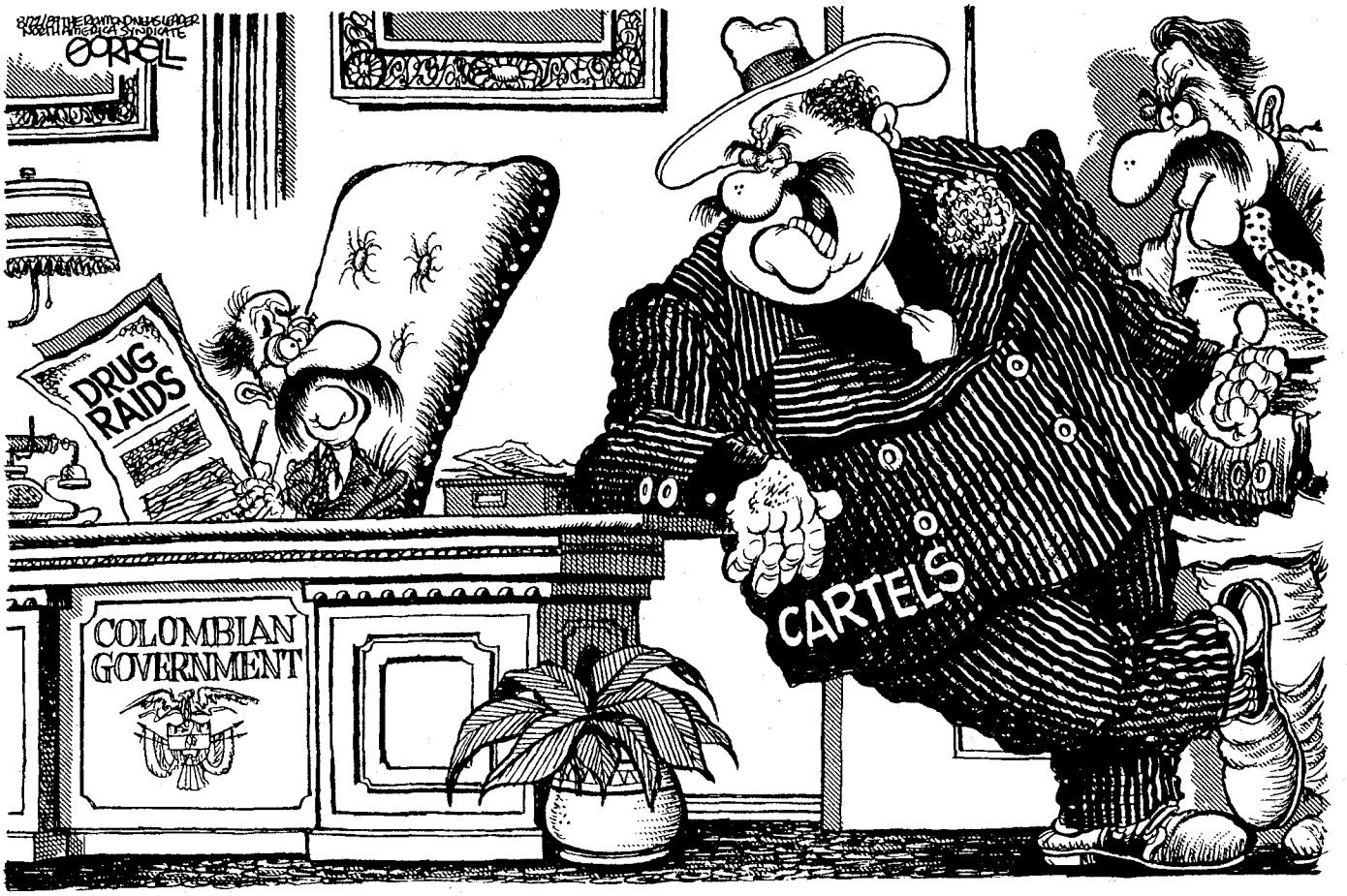
help

This Scourge Looks Endless

I watched a mouse depress a knob
That made a small narcotic blob
Descend a tube inside a cage;
The mouse would press until the rage
For pleasure left it comatose:
Then, rigid from an overdose,
Its body was removed for one
That also sought oblivion.

W. H. VON DREELE





"Me and the boys hereby wants to exercise our Veto Authority..."

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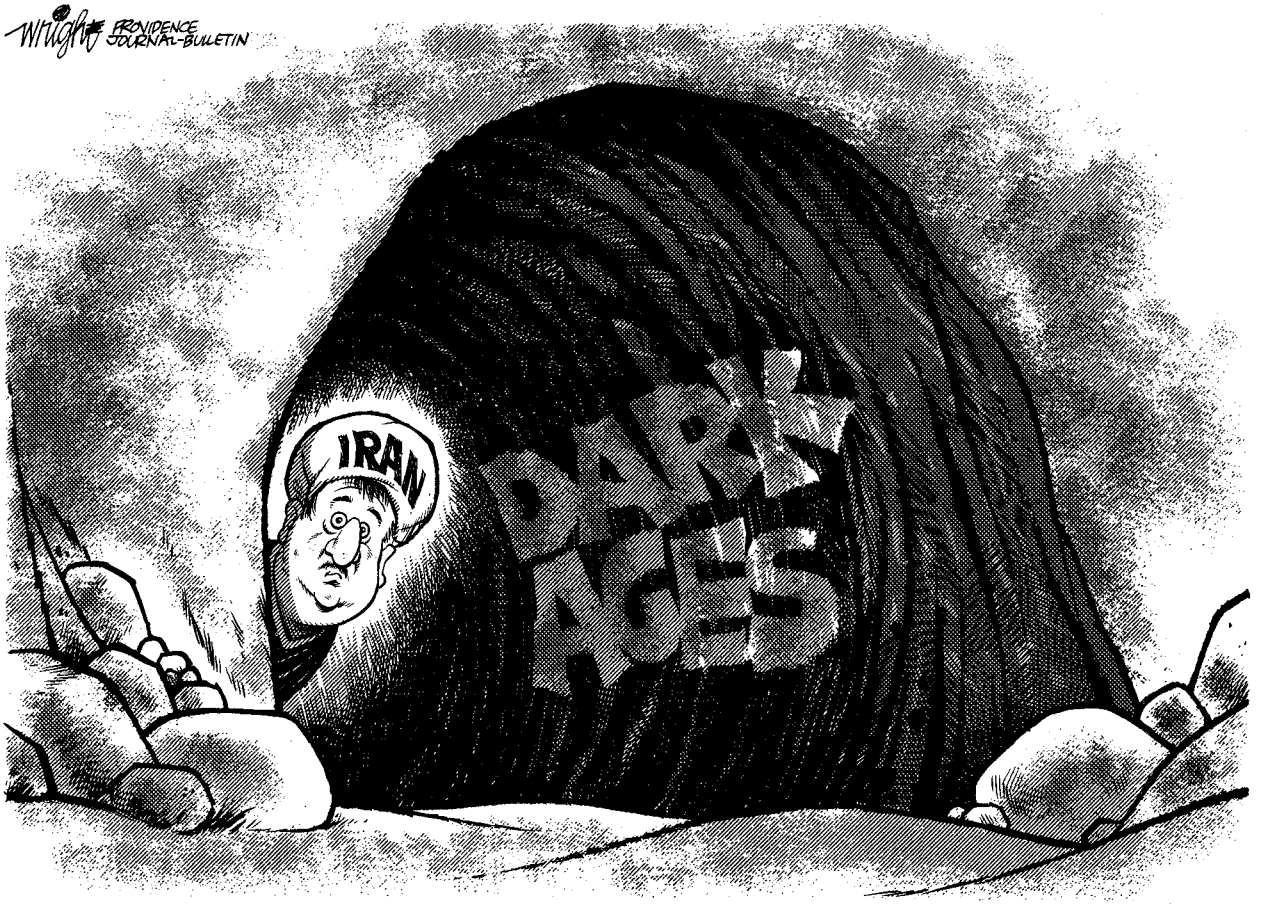
The Amazing Gorbo and his Trained Dinosaur.



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CAMPUS READING

Socialism by the Textbook

Our best-selling economics textbooks still treat socialism as the ideal system, Communism as its imperfect-but-ever-improving embodiment. But they are finally being challenged by conservative economists—and by Mikhail Gorbachev.

TOM BETHELL

PUBLISHERS don't give out the figures, and the authors themselves have been known to exaggerate, but no one denies that the market for economics-principles textbooks is a lucrative one. A textbook costs about $45 these days, and about 600,000 new textbooks are sold each year. All the leading textbook authors are kept busy turning out new editions every three or four years. If they didn't, used copies of their most recent editions would rapidly swamp the market.

For decades, the best-selling economics textbook was Nobel Prize–winner Paul A. Samuelson's *Economics*, now in its 13th edition and co-authored by William D. Nordhaus of Yale. In all editions it has sold over three million copies. Perhaps more than any other book, Samuelson's has promoted the Keynesian view that there is an abstract entity called "the economy," which will provide people with jobs if it is fine-tuned, its pump primed, and the "aggregate demand" flowing through its metaphorical pipes suitably controlled by wise economists in Washington, D.C. In his 1955 edition Samuelson wrote that the private economy is "like a machine without an effective steering wheel." The steering was to be done by economists—with mathematical minds and compassionate hearts.

Samuelson has slipped, in terms of sales and market share, but his rivals say that he is still in the top ten. Everyone agrees that the current best-selling economics-principles text is Campbell R. McConnell's *Economics*, the 11th (1990) edition of which will be published by McGraw-Hill this October. And several sources said that the second-best-selling book today is William J. Baumol and Alan Blinder's *Economics: Principles & Policy*, published by Harcourt Brace (fourth edition, 1988). Other "top ten" texts probably include those by Ralph Byrns & Gerald Stone; Edwin G. Dolan & David Lindsey; Bradley R. Schiller; Roger LeRoy Miller; James Gwartney & Richard Stroup; and Roy Ruffin & Paul Gregory.

Most observers now pretty much concede that socialism as an economic system is a failure. Even most U.S. journalists have thrown in the towel. Nice in theory, they say, but somehow it just doesn't deliver the goods. "Communism," said *60 Minutes* commentator Andy Rooney recently, "is fundamentally a more uplifting idea than capitalism." Its "only real weakness seems to be that it doesn't work." Western holdouts for the triumph of socialism now also have to contend with all manner of renegade Soviet economists. Some preach private property! Even Mikhail Gorbachev said recently that people in the Soviet Union "forgot how to work because they got used to being paid often just for coming to work." (U.S. economists have not yet dared put their finger on that crucial defect of Communism.)

So, what do our leading textbook authors have to say on the subject?

CAMPBELL MCCONNELL is a genial 61-year-old professor of economics at the University of Nebraska and the best-selling economics-textbook writer for at least the last decade. According to one source, his 1987 edition sold 200,000 copies in its first year of publication, probably netting McConnell $1 million in royalties and one-third of the new-book market in that year.

As with Samuelson, the Keynesian hydraulic metaphor remains enshrined by McConnell, but he is regarded as "middle of the road" ideologically, with a devout following in the professoriate. McConnell is "the successor to Samuelson," but better disposed toward the market. Nonetheless, he politely but firmly resisted my suggestion that a 968-page book on economics principles should have more than one paragraph on private property. It is "a good paragraph," he said, as indeed it is.

In his 1987 edition, McConnell says: "Despite the gargantuan character of the coordination problem, Soviet central planning has worked, and historically has functioned reasonably well." This was toned down from the 1981 edition, in which central planning had worked

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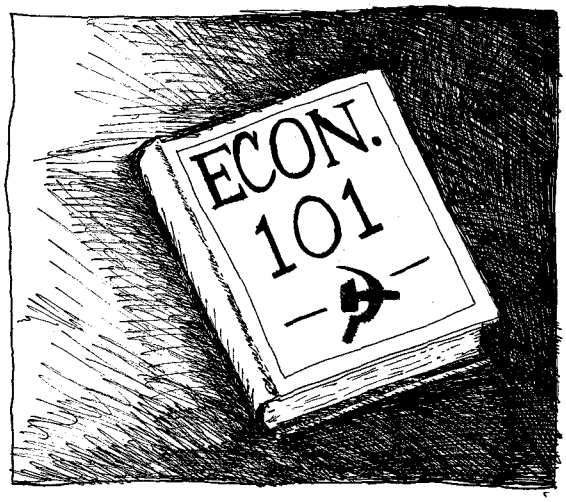
"remarkably well." He notes (1987) that "the real standard of living of the average Soviet citizen is roughly one-third that of an American counterpart," down from one-half in the 1981 edition, in which it was also reported that labor-union strikes "simply do not occur." In 1987 this was amended to "do occur with some frequency."

McConnell reported in 1981 that "authoritative estimates put the Soviet GNP at slightly more than one-half that of the United States," By 1987 this had risen, surprisingly, to "about 60 per cent." He told me that in his 1990 edition "I use 50 per cent. But that may be on the low side." (He seemed to worry that I might accuse him of being too *hard* on Communism.) In 1987 he inserted a section based on Marshall Goldman's *USSR in Crisis: The Failure of an Economic System*, and even though McConnell was quite tentative in his presentation of this material ("it is to be emphasized that Goldman's view is very controversial, and has sparked heated debate") he nonetheless "got some flak from a couple of experts on the Soviet economy." They said he shouldn't have put it in at all. "In the next edition I have replaced Goldman with the Gorbachev reforms," McConnell said, seemingly relieved at moving away from controversy.



WHAT is the true U.S./Soviet GNP ratio? The Soviets have only recently begun estimating their own GNP, having for years been content to rely on U.S. estimates (much as they also accept U.S. estimates of their missile strength in arms-control negotiations). Gorbachev recently put out figures claiming the Soviet economy is no more than 27 per cent of ours. American estimates of the Soviet economy have for years been made by the CIA, and for years these estimates have measured the Soviet economy at 50 to 60 per cent of ours. (One begins to wonder idly whether the Soviets really do have all the missiles we say they have.)

It has long been an article of faith among mainstream economists that socialism and central planning yield high rates of economic growth. This faith was reflected in Paul Samuelson's text, which in successive editions showed a Soviet GNP growth path rising more steeply from a lower base than its U.S. equivalent, projected to overtake our GNP about twenty years in the future. With each new Samuelson edition, the date of intersection was suitably advanced. But when 1980 arrived, the long-promised crossover seemed no nearer at hand. In the 1985 edition this graphical display of optimism about the socialist future was finally excised.

In their 1989 edition Samuelson & Nordhaus ask how "the economic performance of the world's largest command economy" compares with that of the mixed economies. Samuelson & Nordhaus now write, "Soviet economic growth since the 1920s has indeed been impressive. Measured Soviet real GNP has grown more rapidly over the long run than have most of the major market economies." But recently things have been slowing down. "By some analysts' reckoning, indeed, the U.S. growth has outstripped Soviet growth in the last decade." Indeed.

Where does the Soviet economy stand today? "Soviet GNP was about 57 per cent of American GNP in 1987," Samuelson & Nordhaus claim—about double Gorbachev's figure. But in 1967 Samuelson estimated Soviet GNP at "about one-half" ours. This confusingly suggests that, while we have "outstripped" them, they have nonetheless narrowed the gap.

And what of "the scourges of capitalism, unemployment and inflation? The answer appears to be that there is effectively none of either in the USSR." So how do all of these elements add up? "The Soviet model has surely demonstrated that a command economy is capable of mobilizing resources for rapid growth and awesome military power. But it has done so in an atmosphere of great human sacrifice—even loss of life—and political repression." Is this "worth the economic gains?" (Gains?) "This is one of the most profound dilemmas of human society," Samuelson & Nordhaus lamely conclude.

The question of choosing among economic systems is of "vital concern," the Princeton professors Baumol and Blinder remind us in their fourth edition (1988), "and it remains an issue today." Should Third World nations "try to emulate the U.S. system of free markets, as to a degree Taiwan and Brazil have done?" Or "'democratic socialism,' favored by many Western European nations, a route approximately traveled by Israel and India?" Or should they "enter the Soviet sphere and opt for a Communist system with rigid state planning, as North Korea and Vietnam seem to have done?" The choices are "of the utmost importance, because a nation's economic structure has a profound influence, not only over its material well-being, but also over its political system, the individual rights of its citizens . . ." (This observation perhaps unconsciously reflects the Marxian premise that economic relations are fundamental, and political and legal relations derivative or secondary. In fact, the political system determines the economic, rather than vice versa.)

There follows a section comparing "The Market or the Plan? The Scoreboard." Growth depends on investment, the authors conventionally but misleadingly remind us, and "planned economies have more direct control over their growth rates than do unplanned ones because the state can determine the volume of investment." States can engineer "very high growth rates—an option they have often exercised." But this can be at the expense of consumption, personal freedom, even human life. It seems that high growth *can* be achieved without planning, "though planned systems may have an easier time of it." And among less-developed countries "the goal of rapid development is typically of paramount importance."

In conclusion? "Different countries . . . will score the contest differently. Some will find the market more attractive. While others will opt for the plan . . ." Sure,

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socialism will curtail freedom, but we do that anyway. Look at our system of taxation. "The real question," then, "is not *whether* we want elements of socialism or planning to abridge our personal freedoms, but by *how much*." Thus the latest word from Princeton.

OUR NEXT WITNESS is Bradley R. Schiller, a professor of economics at the American University in Washington, D.C., and the author of *The Economy Today*, which has sold well lately. Both Schiller and Roger LeRoy Miller took Professor Andreas Papandreou's Econ 1 course at Berkeley in 1961, in a class of 1,600 freshmen, and since have written very different successful textbooks. All textbook writers keep an eye on the competition. Schiller has observed Miller's *Economics Today* becoming more and more "conservative" (others would say libertarian).

Roger Miller's book includes only a cursory look at the Soviet economy and doesn't bother with GNP comparisons, probably wisely. He discusses such matters as the "second economy," wherein private plots produce perhaps one-third of Soviet agricultural output. Elsewhere he quotes P. T. Bauer, and makes the crucial but still unfashionable connection between economics and property rights. ("If you were in a country where bank accounts and businesses were periodically expropriated by the government, how willing would you be to leave your money in a savings account?") Other authors, notably Gwartney & Stroup, are also emphasizing property rights more and more. "In our new edition coming out in November," said James Gwartney, a professor of economics at Florida State University, "we stress that prosperity is associated with free markets, and that socialism leads to stagnation and poverty."

But back to Schiller. "Which Is Better?" he asks at the end of his chapter on "Socialist Planning." "What we end up with is a mixed bag of wins and losses. The Soviet and Chinese economies rank higher in terms of economic growth, the distribution of income, and economic stability." In the Soviet Union, he writes, "income disparities are much smaller than in the United States, and wealth is, of course, not concentrated in the hands of a private minority." Looking at income equality, then, "the socialist countries come out ahead." As for stability, in socialist economies unemployment "never occurs," which is "far superior to the situation in capitalist market economies, in which fluctuations in aggregate demand lead to insecurity, poverty, low output, and potential alienation." (Schiller overlooks the problem that Gorbachev identified: the socialist guarantee of employment means that people forget how to work.)

Schiller concludes on the following studiedly agnostic note: "For those who place a higher value on equality and stability than on economic freedom and individualism, the planned socialist economies must look superior. On the other hand, those who value individualism and consumer sovereignty will prefer the capitalist market system. Thus the answer to the question of which system is better depends largely on the values we embrace, and no clear, objective response can be offered."

"Can this be right?" I asked Schiller.

"My sense is that it's a very accurate statement," he said. I mentioned the special stores for the Party elites, and the long hours the proletarians wait in line, thus disguising massive economic inequality. Schiller said all these things had been factored in by the experts. "Their estimates include leisure time," he said, adding that "they don't have the income extremes that we have." Schiller stressed that the data he uses come straight from the CIA.

The CIA's Office of Soviet Assessment, and the academic experts it relies on, now have to contend with the problem that increasing numbers of Americans visit the Soviet Union. You only have to set foot outside the Moscow or Leningrad airport to know that the experts have been misled. "In Moscow, there's no sign of an economy," Paul Craig Roberts told me the other day. A professor of political economy at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, he addressed a Moscow conference in June, the session chaired by Gorbachev's chief economic advisor. "We came to the conclusion that only full-fledged private property would work," Roberts said later. He is a longtime student of the Soviet economy. "If their economy is half ours, there's no sign of it, unless it's hidden in the military," Roberts said. "No roads, no cars, nothing to eat, houses fall down. If you can't get soap, what kind of an economy is that?" The Soviet economy may be no more than 10 per cent of ours, he said.

"Their perceived success is due to Western professors' hatred of the market," said Roberts, who is one of the few to assert boldly that ideology lurks beneath the misleading statistics. As for the CIA's GNP-estimators, "they all went to the same schools as the so-called experts, and the CIA will lose credibility if they contradict them." He pointed out that there is a community of interest between the American Left, which wants to believe that socialism can be made to work, and the American Right, which wants an enlarged threat as a rationale for high defense spending. For the CIA, estimating on the high side is the equivalent of playing it safe.

NICHOLAS EBERSTADT, a demographer with the American Enterprise Institute and the author of *The Poverty of Communism*, points out that the origin of the great Soviet-GNP struggle goes back to the late 1940s and early 1950s, when there was a contest between two opposing points of view. In the one corner was Abram Bergson, now a professor emeritus at Harvard University; in the other, Naum Jasny, an Eastern-bloc expatriate who was with the Stanford Food Research Institute. Their disagreement was over the reliability of Soviet economic statistics.

"We should consider the possibility that these figures include systematic lies," Jasny said.

"Look," replied Bergson, "they are the only numbers that we have to work with."

Bergson was charming and urbane; Jasny difficult and cantankerous. Bergson lived and went on to Harvard. Jasny died in 1967, remembered only by a coterie. Bergson won. "But Jasny was right," says Eberstadt.

Now that the Soviets are publishing their own GNP figures, does Eberstadt think that the CIA's estimators will change their methods? "I doubt whether they will make more than marginal revisions," Eberstadt says. "Their estimates are now the result of a long and constantly updated set of comparisons, and they think they are basically sound." □

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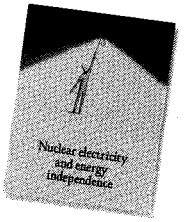

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A SEPARATE PEACE?

Justice for the Palestinians

If the Palestinians were Israel's only Arab enemies, peace might be possible. But can the Israeli–Palestinian dispute be detached from the Arab–Israeli one?

MAX SINGER

When Egypt signed a peace treaty with Israel a decade ago, she was thrown out of the Arab League (although the League's headquarters were in Cairo). But Egypt has now been accepted back into the Arab fold, and President Hosni Mubarak has just launched a new "peace" proposal. This "ten-point plan," responding to the Israeli plan to hold West Bank elections, proposes *inter alia* that all Palestinians, including those in East Jerusalem, be allowed to vote and run for office, that Israel allow international supervision of the process, and that the army withdraw from the "area of polling places" on election day.

There is a certain cheek in Arab countries (which don't enjoy free elections) telling Israel how to run one, particularly since Israel has already run fair elections in the territories it administers. Nonetheless, Egypt's "plan" has achieved some success. Yasir Arafat has endorsed it, and Israeli cabinet ministers are embarrassingly divided in their reactions to it. (The PLO Executive Council has also rejected it, but divisions in the PLO are generally resolved by the world's devoting exclusive attention to Arafat's reaction.) If this sounds familiar, perhaps it is because this latest Egyptian initiative is but one example of a general Arab strategy in the Arab–Israeli dispute. It is to pretend that Israel's war is with the Palestinians and to treat the Arab states not as participants but as third parties, favorable to the Palestinians, perhaps, but anxious to foster a reasonable settlement.

There is a common perception that Israel has been treating the Palestinians unjustly—that she has responded to the Palestinians' drive for peace with a narrow-minded concern for security and a selfish desire to maximize her territory. It is true that the Palestinians are not being treated justly. And it is also true that Israel has a duty to act with justice toward them. But it is not Israel that is responsible for the injustice of the Palestinian situation. Israel and the Palestinians are both victims of the Arab states' enmity toward Israel. They are each simultaneously victim and oppressor. The Palestinians are victims of the Arab states, but as Arabs they also participate in oppressing Israel by denying her peace; Israel is a victim of Arab enmity and threat, and, as a result, has been forced to act as a temporary oppressor of the Palestinians.

The original reason why the Palestinians do not have their own state is that in 1948, when the UN ordered that such a state be created, the Arab armies prevented it. Most of the territory the new Palestinian state was supposed to get was occupied by Jordan. The reason why Arabs from Israel are still in refugee camps forty years after World War II is that the Arab states decided their suffering could be used as a political lever against Israel.

The key point is that the Palestinians, in addition to being their own nation, are also part of the Arab nation. To appreciate how central the Palestinians' Arab connection is to the question of justice, compare what Israel's two relationships with her neighbors would be if they could be separated:

Israel and the Palestinians: Israel is strong, the Palestinians are weak; Israel holds all the disputed territory; Palestinians never started a war against Israel and say they want peace (at least some say so). Palestinians present no real danger to Israel.

Israel and the Arabs: The Arab states have armies large enough to threaten Israel's existence, and they have five hundred times as much land and thirty times as many people as Israel. The Arab states have attacked Israel and (except for Egypt) refused to discuss peace since Israel came into existence.

The nature of Israel's obligation to the Palestinians, therefore, depends upon whether Israel has an obligation to ignore their Arab connection. So we have to ask how significant that link really is.

First of all, the Palestinians get their power from the

Mr. Singer's most recent book is Passage to A Human World. *He is a public-policy expert who has lived in Israel.*

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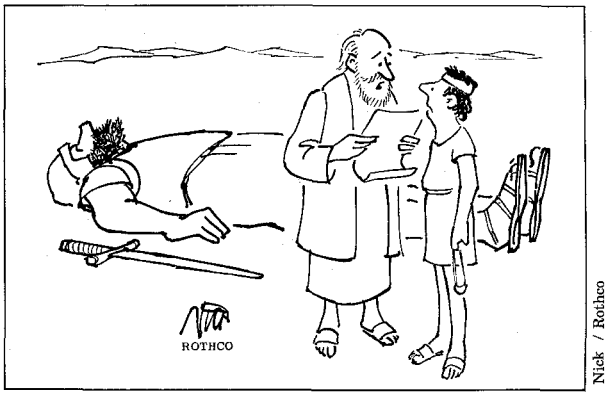
Arab states. While it is the struggle of Palestinian people in the territories that makes news and *appears* to be the cause of the pressure on Israel to negotiate with the PLO, that appearance is an illusion. The Palestinians' struggle would have no political significance if it were not for the diplomatic, political, and financial power of the Arab states and their Communist and other allies.

Secondly, while many Palestinians are angry at the way the Arab states have abused them, there has been no movement among the Palestinians to separate themselves from the Arab war against Israel's existence. Nor have the Palestinians called on the Arab world to make peace with Israel if Israel would only deal fairly with them. For Israel to make peace with the Palestinians while the Arab war against Israel continues would be like making peace with a hand while the rest of the body is trying to kill you.

Israel must respect the humanity and the interests of Palestinians, and act as justly toward them as it can, but this does not mean that Israel is obligated to produce justice for them. That is beyond Israel's power. Israel *can* try to work out practical accommodations that would reduce the pain to both Palestinians and Israelis while the Arab war against Israel continues.

Israel must also pursue lasting peace with the Arab states, both as a matter of justice to the Palestinians, and because Israel's basic long-term security requires it—at least by the time her neighbors become modern enough to produce and operate high-quality armored divisions in mobile combat. (This is a rejection of the view that Israel has no choice but to be at war for the indefinite future, and therefore need not and cannot have a policy of seeking peace.) But if Israel were tempted to do so by opening negotiations with the Palestinians for a new Palestinian state, she would be moving *away* from peace. The key to moving *toward* peace is to respond to the causes of the real war, which is why the Egyptian ten points are not helpful.



Nick / Rothco

"The Arab nations are calling it unprovoked terrorism, David."

THE ORIGINAL cause was the Arab states' refusal to have a Jewish state in the Middle East. In the forty years since Israel's creation, the Arab states have learned that they cannot defeat Israel militarily (although that fact might change). They have no active programs to destroy Israel; their military forces (except Syria's) are primarily designed for use against each other. But none of the Arab states except Egypt officially recognizes the State of Israel; the others are legally still at war with it.

The government of each of the Arab countries is beset by one or more fundamentalist or fanatic Moslem organizations trying to get the country to return to more traditional Islamic practice. The Arab governments thus take pains to avoid actions that might stir up Islamic fundamentalist discontent—such as making peace with Israel. They continue to operate a worldwide boycott to prevent people from doing business with Israel; they refuse to negotiate; and they distribute anti-Jewish and anti-Israel propaganda, like *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Generally, no argument for the legitimacy of Israel as a state is permitted in the Arab countries (with the partial exception of Egypt), and Arab children through the university level are educated to hate Israelis and to regard the State of Israel as illegitimate and evil. There is little doubt that, if they saw a chance to destroy Israel and slaughter Israelis, the Arab states would be held back only by concern for protecting themselves.

The critical step in designing a peace strategy is the selection of goals. The degree of "peace" that exists now—that is, an absence of combat except with the Palestinians—is too low a goal; it doesn't provide enough protection. But reconciliation—that is, cordial relations between Israel and the Arab countries—is too high a goal: it is unrealistically ambitious.

The realistic and necessary goal for Israel is peace treaties with the principal Arab states—Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Lebanon. If Syria and Iraq were not included it would be too dangerous for the other countries to make peace, but with Syria, Iraq, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia included, there is no other Arab state that could challenge the legitimacy of their action. Although peace treaties won't solve everything, they would be an important step for at least three reasons. First, signing peace treaties would force Arab governments to explain to their people why it is right to accept Israel as a legitimate state. Second, an Israeli embassy, flying the Israeli flag, in each Arab capital will help prepare new generations of Arabs to accept the idea of Israeli legitimacy. Third, Arab leaders who oppose attacking Israel or taking terrorist actions against her will be in a stronger position if their country has signed a peace treaty.

But before any Arab government will even consider making peace with Israel it must be convinced that Israel cannot be destroyed. As it happens, the main hope for destroying Israel is internal dissension, followed by conflict between Israel and the U.S. (and Europe). Any impression that Israel might become so divided as to lose the will to defend herself weakens the prospects for peace.

The Arab countries (like most countries) are impressed by power. If Israel is forced back—except in the context of an Arab defeat, as in 1973—the Arab countries will be encouraged to think that their faith in Islam's power is being vindicated and that they should redouble their efforts. They will never be *satisfied* by Israeli concessions or retreats.

But even once the Arab states understand that they have no hope of destroying Israel, there remain three major obstacles to peace. First, the Arab countries don't stand to gain much from making peace. They need their armies anyhow, for protection against other Moslem countries. Since the state of war is not costly to them, peace would not be profitable. Second, they are afraid that it would endanger their governments by giving their

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fundamentalist minorities an excuse to attack them. Third, the high visibility of the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians stirs Arab hatred of Israel.

But time is on Israel's side for two reasons. The Arab threat to Israel has been largely dependent on Soviet arms, money, and political help. But growing conflict within the Soviet empire suggests that, within the next decade or two, Soviet support for Arab resistance to peace will greatly diminish.

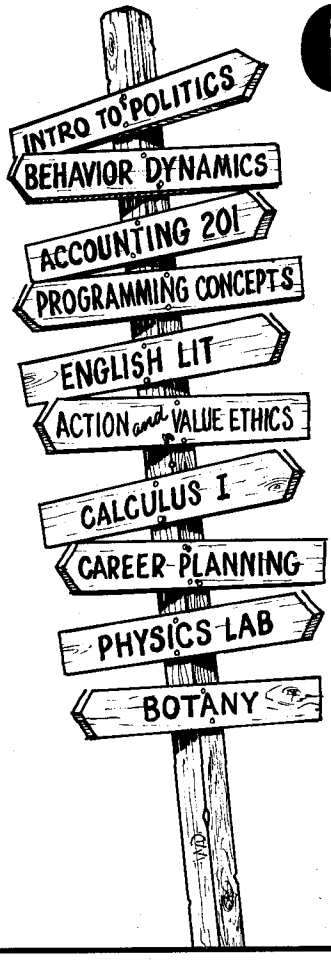
Furthermore, contrary to current impressions, the long-run trend is against the Islamic fundamentalists. Their main conflict with the rest of the Arab population is not about the war with Israel, it is about their effort to make their countries observe the law of Islam more strictly. Traditional Islam seems to be in conflict with modernity, and most Arabs want their countries to become modern enough so that the people can have educations and decent and healthy living conditions. The fundamentalists got a big boost from Khomeini's victory, and from Arab oil power, but the effect of these two events is beginning to wear off. Sooner or later the Arab populations will become strong enough to resist their fundamentalist tendencies, and the Arab states will be able to make peace with Israel.

ISRAEL'S CONFLICT with the Palestinians gives peacemakers a cruel dilemma. On the one hand, if Israel could end the dramatic conflict with the Palestinians, that would remove one obstacle to an Arab–Israeli peace. On the other hand, if such a settlement led hopeful Arabs to think that Israeli power has begun to decline, then the Arab states would be completely unwilling to make peace. Evidence of Israeli weakness would stimulate Arab enmity at least as much as Israeli "oppression" of Palestinians. (This is the Middle Eastern Catch-22.)

This does not mean that Israel can't afford to make voluntary (i.e., not resulting from American pressure) concessions once the current uprising has been clearly defeated. But if Israel were forced to surrender most of the territories by internal political divisions, rock-throwing Arab crowds, and foreign pressure, that would exactly contradict all the requirements of the pursuit of peace. It would remove any pressure on the Arab states to move toward peace. It would demonstrate the success of a cheap form of Arab attack against Israel. It would show Israel's reluctance to do what is necessary to protect herself. And the maximum gain is a tenuous peace with only part of Israel's least dangerous enemy.

The real path to peace is to bring diplomatic and political attention back to the long-term underlying conflict. The world's concern for the Palestinians should be expressed by demands that the Arab states move toward peace. The United States must give the Arabs reason to think that a) while they refuse to move toward peace, they will not gain American favor, and b) the longer they wait, the worse the terms will be for them.

In sum, the way to pursue peace is to expose and counter the Arab strategy, expressed anew in the Egyptian ten points, of pretending that the war against Israel is a Palestinian war. Israel should stop discussing the terms of peace until the Arab states indicate that they are ready to make peace. □



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Can Government Outlaw Drugs?

Herbert Spencer was the nineteenth century's pre-eminent libertarian sociologist; Sir James Fitzjames Stephen among its greatest conservative jurists. Between them they represent the opposite poles of government regulation and laissez-faire. They here debate President Bush's war on drugs through the good offices of the celebrated philosophical medium,

MAURICE CRANSTON

STEPHEN: You will always be remembered, Spencer, as an authority on social problems. What do you think could be done about the problem of drugs, which is critical in America today?

SPENCER: Quite simply, the traffic in drugs should cease to be a crime.

STEPHEN: I do not agree with you. That traffic *has* to be prohibited. Drugs are an evil substance.

SPENCER: It is not the function of the state to correct every evil. It does more harm than good by attempting to. I spent a great deal of energy in my time trying to persuade the British government against interfering with the trade in liquor for what it considered noble motives.

STEPHEN: But drugs are vastly more harmful than liquor. Drugs are bad even in small doses, and they are almost instantaneously addictive.

SPENCER: Tobacco has been shown to be both harmful and addictive, but I do not see governments prohibiting the trade in that.

STEPHEN: The harmfulness of tobacco is comparatively minor, and drugs produce addiction of an intensity which far surpasses that of cigarettes.

SPENCER: The arguments for tolerating tobacco are equally arguments for tolerating drugs. I observed in the nineteenth century that men, having rid themselves of the despotism of kings, were rapidly moving toward the despotism of governments, and today they seem to have gone all the way. Whenever men see a social problem they think the answer is to have the government make a law to deal with it.

STEPHEN: There are very good reasons for laws against the trade in drugs, and virtually every country in the world has them. Here in America the Administration has been forced to declare what it calls a war on drugs.

SPENCER: I observe that despite this "war," thefts, robberies, muggings, and drug-related murders have made the streets of many American cities unsafe.

STEPHEN: That is because a person who is, in what they call the "street language," hooked on drugs will do anything to finance a fix.

SPENCER: But the point remains that the government is failing to do what it exists in order to do, namely, to protect the safety and the liberty and the property of citizens. By trying to enforce morality, which is not a government's business, it fails to do its proper job.

STEPHEN: The government is not being asked to enforce morality in any lofty sense. It is simply trying to stop the consumption of evil and injurious substances.

SPENCER: If an individual wants to dope himself, the government has not the duty, nor even the right, to stop him. It was once a crime in England to attempt to commit suicide. I am glad to observe that since our time that law has been repealed. But I am afraid that the general tendency has been to increase such laws, rather than repeal them, the Divine Right of Kings having yielded increasingly to the Divine Right of Governments.

STEPHEN: But the government is doing what you admit to be its duty to restore safety to the streets by suppressing the traffic that leads to all the crime.

SPENCER: It is not suppressing it. It is only trying unsuccessfully to do so. As you rightly remark, drug addiction is so intense that those who want the substances will get them, legally or illegally. Hence, the only result of forbidding a legal trade is to introduce an illegal trade.

STEPHEN: Would you simply legalize the drug traffic, even if that would lead to an increase in drug abuse?

SPENCER: I would decriminalize it.

STEPHEN: That is only another word for the same thing.

SPENCER: The word "legalize" seems to me to confer too much respectability on the enterprise. Society is right to disapprove of drug abuse, as it is to disapprove of suicide or drunkenness or prostitution. These things are morally

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Mr. Cranston was from 1969 to 1985 Professor of Political Science at the London School of Economics and is the author of, among other works, Political Dialogues.

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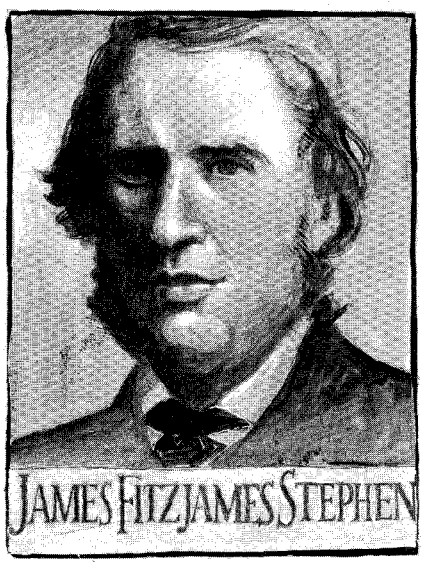
wrong, and it would be very unfortunate if a community had no shared sense of right and wrong. But society must uphold morality by its own unwritten laws. The state is concerned with morality only insofar as it is concerned with the enforcement of justice. Society itself must protect and preserve the rest of morality.

STEPHEN: Unfortunately the unwritten laws of society are hardly effective today. Moral and social disapproval may modify behavior among church-going groups and high-thinking educated people, but it has no effect on the actions either of smart hedonists among the rich or of racial minorities among the poor, the kind of people who use drugs.

SPENCER: Do not forget, Stephen, that some people used drugs in our time, too. I dare say medical prescriptions were needed for some of them, but drugs were cheap and easily obtained, and certainly they provoked nothing that could be called a "social problem."

STEPHEN: That is because there were too few addicts to constitute a social problem. In the nineteenth century there were two main sorts of addict: artists like Coleridge and De Quincey who felt the need to stimulate their imaginations in order to do creative work, and nervous, idle women who found drugs a means of calming their nerves at one time and exciting them at another. Ordinary people were satisfied with liquor, and many did not even touch that.



SPENCER: And those who did were constantly harassed by government legislation inspired by those who didn't drink.

STEPHEN: Such laws were not unreasonable. With gin at sixpence a pint and pubs open at all hours, there were far too many cases of fathers neglecting their children and husbands beating their wives.

SPENCER: Undoubtedly such things happened, but I see no reason in a remedy which prevented every well-behaved citizen from buying a glass of beer when he wanted and confined the consumption of gin to the rich.

STEPHEN: You cannot say that those laws did not have a beneficial effect. Drunkenness is not now the curse of the working classes that it once was.

SPENCER: That is entirely due to industrial and technical and scientific progress, which have improved the living standards of working people. And also to the fact that in England, at any rate, we prevented the anti-liquor legislation going as far as the prohibitionists desired. In America, of course, it was another story.

STEPHEN: But Prohibition, on a federal scale, lasted only a dozen years in America.

SPENCER: Consider the harm it did in that short time. Forbidden to drink legally, the Americans began to drink illegally, and a nation which had been one of the most law-abiding in the world developed habits of disobedience. What is more, a whole network of gangsters and bootleggers appeared for the first time. You would think that after that experience the Americans would not want to use the same methods against the traffic in drugs.

STEPHEN: But they do. Moreover, every nation in the world has laws prohibiting the traffic in drugs; some countries even hang the traffickers they convict. We are not dealing here with the over-zealous American puritanism that prompted Prohibition. We are faced with a conviction of what might be called universal common sense that drugs constitute so great a menace that all force of the state must be marshaled against them.

SPENCER: I do not doubt that common sense may suggest it. But social science, which must be based on a cool appraisal of observable phenomena, shows that the so-called war on drugs cannot be won.

STEPHEN: If America were to decriminalize drugs tomorrow, as you suggest, it would be invaded by addicts from other countries, and also by people curious to experiment with a forbidden substance which had at last become lawful and cheap.

SPENCER: You have appealed to common sense, and now you are appealing to common folly. Could not immigration laws prevent what you fear happening?

STEPHEN: But you appear to be advocating the toleration of the drug trade even in countries where drugs are not yet a grave social problem. Surely you do not want to see the use of drugs extended to such places.

SPENCER: If there were no black market in drugs anywhere, there would be no great profits to be made, and growers would turn to other crops.

STEPHEN: Nevertheless, if you had your way, there would be more drug abuse—because drugs would be as accessible as cigarettes and as cheap, on sale at every drugstore.

SPENCER: There might be some popular resistance to this. As you know, the protests of certain citizens in America made supermarkets withdraw pornographic material from their shelves.

STEPHEN: So you seem to favor some prohibition.

SPENCER: If it is prompted by citizens and not by the state, and has only moral and not physical force behind it, then it is not objectionable. Drugs might have to be sold in charmless outlets. All I want is toleration. I certainly do not wish to see any kind of encouragement or tacit approval put upon such substances. Indeed I would expect the responsible organs of public opinion to warn people against drugs and educate them as to the dangers.

STEPHEN: Such action is already being taken in the matter of cigarette smoking. But it is very much less than wholly effective, especially in the case of those most at risk, young women.

SPENCER: But I do not hear you advocating the prohibition of the trade in cigarettes.

STEPHEN: Public opinion is not ready for it. Besides, cigarette smoking harms only the smoker. Drug abuse is not what John Stuart Mill used to call a self-regarding act. It does not simply injure the user; it injures other people as well.

SPENCER: The same might be said of excessive drinking. The number of automobile accidents that are due to drunken driving is appalling. But again I do not hear you advocating prohibition of the trade in liquor.

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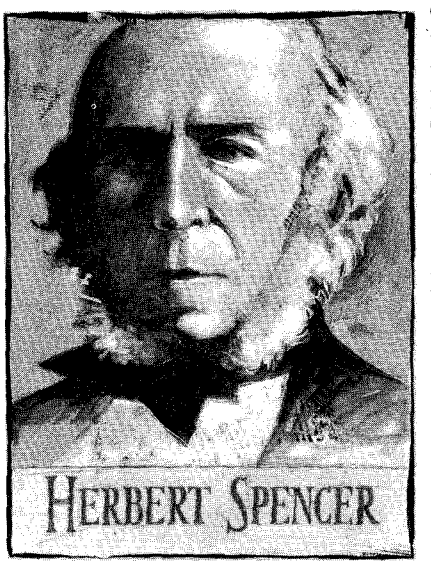
STEPHEN: Drugs do much more than alcohol to undermine efficiency. The technology of today demands clear-headed attention, or disaster ensues, in airplanes, ships, factories, and all the sophisticated apparatus of defense. The world has moved from the horse-and-buggy age in which you and I lived, and in which it did not matter if half the workers on the farm were awash with beer and the squire stupefied with laudanum.

SPENCER: You repeat the things that were said in America in 1919 by some of the champions of the National Prohibition Act. A good many industrialists believed that Prohibition would increase the efficiency of their workers and prevent accidents due to drink from happening in their factories. There is not much evidence that Prohibition did that. But no one denies that Prohibition produced gangsterdom, and when crime reached the proportions of the St. Valentine's Day massacre in Chicago in 1929, the majority of American voters were ready to be persuaded that Prohibition had to be repealed.

STEPHEN: Well, they are certainly not persuaded that the traffic in drugs should be decriminalized, in spite of the fact that drug-related murders far exceed the number of deaths in the St. Valentine's Day massacre.



SPENCER: Then we can only ask ourselves, how many more murders will be needed to effect that persuasion?

STEPHEN: I do not share your pessimism about the war on drugs. The American Government has both the will and the resources needed to win it.

SPENCER: It is a war that must be fought in part on foreign soil, to end cultivation of the offending crops.

STEPHEN: The American Government has the support of the governments in such places as Colombia.

SPENCER: Few such governments command the obedience of the people. The impoverished cultivators in South America and Asia will be no less determined to evade the law than are addicts in the United States.

STEPHEN: Undoubtedly the most important part of the struggle is to end the demand. I am afraid that is connected with the much larger problem of the ghettos, where the poorest minority communities both provide a market for drugs and suffer most from drug-related crime. What needs to be ended is the deplorable conditions in which those people live, and only the state could do that.

SPENCER: The misery is partly a result of the welfare system itself. The welfare state has created unemployment. First of all by interfering with the labor market by making regulations requiring minimum wages and governing conditions of employment, all of which discourage employers from hiring labor; and then by paying allocations to people so long as they have no job.

STEPHEN: Knowing your celebrated book *Man against the State*, I am not surprised to hear you say all that, Spencer; but if you had your way they would get even more drugs for their money. At present you must at least admit that the vast majority of Americans still have no access to them. That itself is an enormous advantage. Moreover, the same vast majority deeply disapprove of drug abuse, because they know how quickly drugs become addictive, how cruelly they shorten lives, what agony they cause when they are withdrawn; and parents dread their children ever being introduced to them.

SPENCER: Yet you now see pushers lurking around the premises of high schools a cross the country. If the drug trade ceased to be criminal, that would cease.

STEPHEN: What they push is not cheap. If your policy were adopted, drugs would be within the range of every schoolchild's pocket money.

SPENCER: Then there would be no profit, and no pushers. The law of the market would operate.

STEPHEN: I am afraid there would still be dangerous curiosity among the young. You must not forget that the use of drugs has been to some extent romanticized.

SPENCER: That is because it is illegal. The immature are fascinated by what is forbidden, as you have observed.

STEPHEN: It is not only that. American schoolchildren all know that their idols on the pop scene are as often as not on drugs. And then among the intellectuals we see writers like Aldous Huxley, the grandson of your celebrated collaborator in the promotion of science, Thomas Henry Huxley, publishing books praising the use of both cannabis and LSD.

SPENCER: If such influential figures are on the side of drug abuse, I do not see how the American Government can expect to win the war on drugs.

STEPHEN: It makes it all the more important for the government to act. If neither popular nor highbrow culture is a force against drugs, then legal sanctions must bear the burden.

SPENCER: But do you not see that the failure of such sanctions must bring the law itself into disrepute? When I first published *Man against the State*, critics complained that I wanted to restrict the state to being a kind of nightwatchman. Nowadays people would be only too grateful if the state did play the nightwatchman, and make it safe for them to walk in their cities at night.

STEPHEN: You seem to believe that decriminalization would be followed by civil tranquillity. I do not. I think we should see a massive explosion of drug addiction, with a large part of the population turned into junkies.

SPENCER: I would rather have junkies than criminals.

STEPHEN: You would probably have both. The repeal of Prohibition did not put an end to the gangs which had been formed to take advantage of Prohibition. They continued to exist and flourish in other rackets. The criminals who have emerged with the drug trade would find their ways to make a dishonest living.

SPENCER: If that is so, the war on drugs would at least give way to a war on crime; and I have never denied that it is right for the state to make war on crime. All I say is that it is wrong for the state to try to make war on vice.

STEPHEN: But I insist that the state must make war on vice, when its evils are as great as those of drug abuse; and I am sure that most Americans feel as I do.

SPENCER: They may feel it; but I am not sure they will think it when they have thought the matter through. □

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THE OPEN QUESTION

Artistic Freedom, Public Anger

RUTH BERENSON

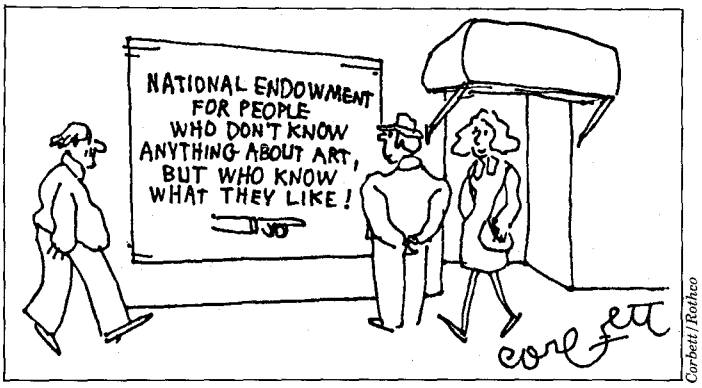
As an alumna, so to speak, of National Review, I have been sadly disappointed at the magazine's enthusiastic endorsement (for example, in the editorial "Shutterbuggery," Sept. 1) of Senator Helms's proposal to emasculate the National Endowment for the Arts. The House of Representatives has just rejected his amendment to the Endowment's appropriations bill, and conservatives should not hope for its resuscitation in Senate–House conference later this fall. If the Helms amendment became law, it would cripple the peer-panel process through which the Endowment's grants have always been made by forcing the panels to make their recommendations not on the quality of the art or the artist, but on whether or not a proposed project might be regarded by someone—anyone—as "obscene or indecent," or as denigrating "the objects or beliefs of the adherents of a particular religion or non-religion," or as debasing or reviling "a person, group, or class of citizens on the basis of race, creed, sex, handicap, age, or national origin." Further, the Endowment's chairman would have to assume the role of censor and bar any grants that seemed to him to be in violation of these proscriptions—a task for which few people (other, perhaps, than Senator Helms) would feel themselves qualified.

The current controversy raises a broader question than why or whether the agency should have supported the Robert Mapplethorpe exhibition or, via a subgrant, the award by the Southeastern Center for Contemporary Art to photographer Andres Serrano. The work—or lurid descriptions thereof—of both artists has clearly outraged large numbers of people. This is not the first time that Endowment grants have offended, nor, assuming that the state of the arts in this country continues on its present course and that the agency to survives the current onslaught, will it be the last. But the sound and fury that this particular episode has engendered seem indicative of a more generalized and profound anger than ever before.

This anger has been increasing steadily as the subversion of traditional American values has become more and more apparent. Ronald Reagan, whose election was due in no small part to belief in his promise to restore these values, was unable to do so; we don't yet know whether President Bush will be more successful. But it seems clear that Americans are profoundly frustrated at their inability, and that of their government, to retrieve a more moral, more innocent America. They pay taxes for programs aimed at the crime problem, the drug problem, the illiteracy problem, the teenage-pregnancy problem, the AIDS problem—with no discernible result. To them, the flag remains sacred, and their perception that the Supreme Court now says it isn't only confirms their conviction that the America they love is being torn apart by forces they are powerless to resist.

But wait! What's this about the National Endowment for the Arts using their tax money to support not just art and artists they don't understand (by now they've become used to that) but art and artists they understand only too well—art and artists who, they are told by National Review and others, glorify obscenity, desecrate religion and morality, and epitomize the decadent America that is so alien to them? *This* they can stop. They can say to Congress, "Not on our money! We can judge art as well as any so-called expert. If the government is going to spend our money on art, it had better spend it on art we approve of."

In the 24 years of its existence, only twenty of the Endowment's 85,000 grants have provoked congressional questioning—surely not a bad record. Much of the Endowment's money goes to institutions taking artistic risks, as the Actors Theater of Louisville did last season when it premiered, in its "new plays" series, a play by William F. Buckley Jr. If the Helms amendment had been in effect, it seems unlikely that the theater panel would have dared recommend support for this program: from Aeschylus, through Shakespeare and Moliere, to our own time, playwrights have challenged traditional customs and beliefs. The panel might well have feared that these "new playwrights" would follow in their footsteps.



Corbett/Rotheo

Conservatives have always mistrusted the Arts Endowment. At the beginning we worried that public subsidies for the arts might erode the systems of private support for them which have served this country so well. This fear proved baseless: private arts funding has increased steadily, though at a slightly reduced rate since passage of the new tax laws in 1986. But we were even more concerned that the Endowment might become a kind of cultural czar and impose a particular viewpoint, aesthetic or ideological, on artists or arts institutions as a condition, real or implied, for receiving support. The peer-panel review system, authorized by Congress less than two weeks after the Endowment's first appropriation bill became law, was designed precisely to allay these fears. But if the Helms amendment should be revived, the fears might become reality. □

Miss Berenson, Associate Deputy Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts, was for many years NR*'s art critic.*

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Yes Sir, Ma'am!

WILLIAM HAWKINS

MISS KRISTIN BAKER was recently chosen First Captain of the West Point Corps of Cadets. Is this a great step forward for both women and the military? Or is it a step forward for feminist ideology, with dangerous consequences to national security? Miss Baker is the daughter of an Army colonel, so her desire to be a soldier may be part of a noble family tradition. Yet when interviewd by CBS News, Miss Baker said she thought of her father as just having a job like everyone else. If this means she sees her own Army career as a job, not an adventure (to reverse the Navy's recruiting slogan), it supports one of the many damning charges leveled against women in the military by Brian Mitchell's *Weak Link*.

The high command in all the services, although full of private doubts, is under intense political pressure to promote career equality between the sexes. To do so, they employ double standards that make civilian affirmative-action plans pale in comparison. Few politicians in either party will support the military against the feminists.

Weak Link: The Feminization of the American Military, by Brian Mitchell (Regnery Gateway, 240 pp., $17.95)

First Captain Baker may be a splendid soldier, but the erosion of standards raises suspicions about her promotion. Take one of the many examples cited by Mitchell of "dual standards" and "normalizing requirements" (Newspeak for obtaining equal results from unequal performance): West Point's "Enduro" run, a timed 2.5-mile jog in full combat gear. For the class of 1980 (the first to include women), it was decided that women could run, but their performance would *not* be counted in evaluations for awards. This was so obviously unfair (and caused such discontent among the male cadets) that in 1981 men and women were evaluated by the same standard. As expected, the men did much better and won proportionally more awards. When feminists complained, the Enduro was simply eliminated from training.

Mitchell argues that double standards for women and the subsequent cushioning of lowered standards for men are responsible for the negative attitude of male cadets toward their female classmates. Surveys found that while males were initially neutral about women in the ranks, they turned hostile with time and experience. The response of the academies? Courses on how to overcome sexism!

Women, with equal standing as citizens, do have an equal duty to contribute to the "common defense," but the question is, How best *can* they contribute? War is not the place for social engineering and abstract ideology. The only rule must be: do what works; and *Weak Link* argues that, as a rule, women do *not* work as soldiers.

To begin with, asks Mitchell, what is the proper concept of equality in the military? "That *all* individuals can fulfill *all* requirements of *all* jobs regardless of sex? Or that *some* individuals can fulfill the requirements of *some* jobs regardless of sex?" The first is an ideological position, the second a matter of practicality. But the first has come to guide policy, and has resulted in units riddled with women who cannot perform their jobs even under peacetime conditions—a *weak link* that could break in war.

A common mistake of those unfamiliar with battle is the belief that modern "push-button warfare" has rendered physical factors obsolete. In 1982, an Army review group classified each job on the basis of required physical strength, using a Department of Labor system. Sixty-four per cent of Army jobs fit the "very heavy" category—a category only 3 per cent of Army women achieve.

Yet pressure from those who felt such restrictions would impede the careers of women derailed the imposition of new standard physical testing for job assignments. As a result, in the Army women who are unable to lift shells are assigned to artillery-supply jobs. In the Air Force, women who are unable to carry their own tool kits, let alone dismantle a jet engine, serve as aircraft mechanics. In the Navy, where 84 per cent of shipboard jobs are considered "very heavy," most women are unable to secure watertight doors. Feminists may oppose any discussion of physical fitness, but military women know the truth: nearly half of those assigned to "very heavy" duties leave the service.

Clausewitz noted that "the end for which a soldier is recruited . . . is simply that he should fight in the right place at the right time." Yet servicewomen are more than twice as likely as servicemen to be unavailable for duty because of medical complaints. Women have more medical problems in all areas, but by far the most important is pregnancy. About one in seven servicewomen is pregnant at any given moment. This used to be grounds for dismissal, but no more. One-third of these women do resign, but another third are granted maternity leave. What about the last third? Why, they have abortions.

Pregnant women are excused from a variety of duties. In peacetime, this is simply an inconvenience. In wartime, it is potentially crippling. Most servicewomen with children are single parents, and the majority of the rest have husbands who are also in the military. So, what happens to the kids when mom is called to the front? An answer, not a pleasant one, can be gleaned from an incident in Korea in the mid-Seventies when U.S. forces went to full alert. Some women actually brought their children with them to their posts; others simply headed for the rear, abandoning their posts and seeking evacuation.

Physical limitations and maternal pressures aside, Mitchell also argues

Mr. Hawkins is a policy analyst for the U.S. Business and Industrial Council and writes frequently on defense and foreign-policy issues.

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that women are not psychologically suited to the military. "Nothing else can explain why 60 to 70 per cent of the women at West Point score below the mean in easy military subjects like map reading, military heritage, and tactics, except that they do not much want to be soldiers." Surveys show women are more apt to enlist for pay and job training while men are more apt to enlist for patriotism and adventure. This is hardly surprising. The entire "entitlements" industry, of which feminism is a vital part, is based on a hyper-individualism that undermines the integrity and collective identity of traditional mission-oriented institutions.

Women *are* still excluded from combat units, though *not* from combat itself, as is popularly believed, and the distinction is blurred further as more front-line positions are opened to women and the very idea of "combat" is redefined. (The combat exclusion, such as it is, makes Kristin Baker's position at West Point . . . well, peculiar. How can she *lead* men where she is prohibited from going?) Currently, field HQ staffs, military police, combat support units that "fix and fuel forward," and engineering units are open to women. Women can serve in combat divisions and brigades, just not in their infantry or armored battalions, and they can sail in the logistics ships accompanying naval task forces. So, what is left?

The draft? Although politically unpopular in peacetime, a return to the draft in time of war is an acknowledged necessity. The Supreme Court upheld male-only draft registration in part because of the combat exclusion, but under the current circumstances of the All-Volunteer Armed Forces, in which 20 per cent serving are women (not to mention the declining number of qualified draft-age males), will the Court sustain its earlier position? Probably not, and then the armed services will *really* be in trouble.

Some women *are* capable soldiers, but their numbers are small, and the evidence suggests that expanding their numbers in America's forces (which already have a larger share of women than any nation in history) will not strengthen the military. Matters have probably gone too far to hope for a return to the policies under which women served primarily as nurses and clerks, but it is not too much to hope (indeed, we have a right to expect) that the military will not abandon its mission merely to meet the whims of individual women. Brian Mitchell hopes that "before we arrive at full sexual equality in the military, before the next war, brave men in uniform will stand up and speak out." A sense that they are not isolated in their views may give the generals and admirals the encouragement they need. If so, this important book will have played an invaluable role in shaping a more secure American future. □

In Ted Kennedy's America

JOSEPH SOBRAN

CONSERVATIVES are often called paranoid, but none in 1987 was paranoid enough to suspect what Robert Bork's enemies had in store for him. From the day of his nomination to the Supreme Court, he was the target of a campaign of hate and fear, led by the nation's leading liberals and conducted with state-of-the-art propaganda techniques, that moved even the anti-Bork *Washington Post* to speak of his "lynching" by "intellectual vulgarity and personal savagery."

Battle for Justice: How the Bork Nomination Shook America, by Ethan Bronner (Norton, 400 pp., $22.50)

Ethan Bronner of the *Boston Globe* vividly reconstructs the story in *Battle for Justice: How the Bork Nomination Shook America*. Bronner too is an anti-Bork liberal, but he bends over backward to be fair. His own narrative gives ample ground for rejecting the judgment he finally renders that Bork's defeat was warranted.

It's a perverse marvel to hear liberals who ritually denounce "McCarthyism" defend, excuse, or dismiss as irrelevant the tactics used against Bork. Ted Kennedy set the tone by limning "Robert Bork's America" as a fascist nightmare of back-alley abortions, segregation, censorship, midnight police raids, and general obscurantism. Subsequent accusations included racism, sexism, general "insensitivity," indifference to privacy,

Phil Nicolaides

contempt for the Bill of Rights, willingness to see poor women sterilized, and just being "out of the mainstream." Senator Howell Heflin raised questions about Bork's beard and "strange lifestyle." A pro-abortion group ran ads saying Bork's confirmation would "wipe out every advance women have made in the twentieth century."

Worse, these shrieks weren't impulsive: they were calculated, orchestrated. People for the American Way, which in 1980 had warned darkly that the Religious Right's involvement in politics threatened the separation of church and state, used the network of black churches in the South to spread hysteria about Bork, while rumors of his "agnosticism" were being promulgated through white Baptist churches. PAW also produced a scurrilous ad, gravely intoned by Gregory Peck, calling Bork an enemy of civil rights, privacy, and free speech. The Roper and Harris polls nudged public opinion along with loaded questions framed to excite the worst suspicions about the nominee. But the smears were only part of the story. Bork's detractors, not all of them foul, also used highly sophisticated methods of spreading their message. They provided small local

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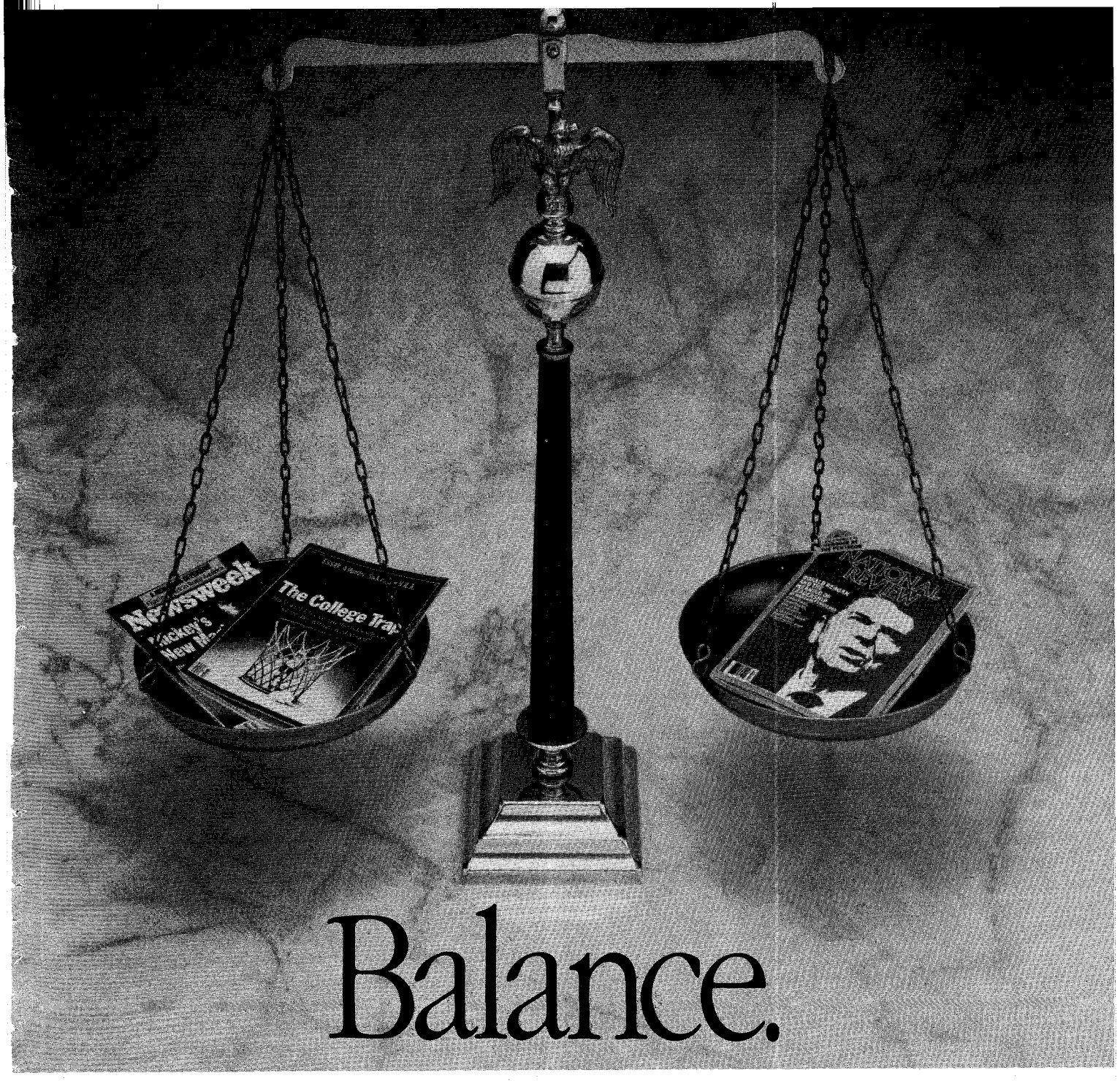

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RANDOM NOTES

■ GAY NINETIES: Women's Studies, Afro-American Studies, Hispanic Studies—to the current array of academic ghetto disciplines get ready to add the latest. Columbia University Press announces it will begin publishing a series of books, "Between Men, Between Women," which Executive Editor Louise Waller says will help "legitimate Gay and Lesbian Studies as a course of study—just as Women's Studies came up a few years ago." Already, she says, departments and centers have popped up on several American campuses, including Yale, San Francisco City College, and the City University of New York.

At left-leaning Routledge, Editorial Director William Germano, with a similar series of his own, says he's looking forward to the "Gay Nineties." Of the dozen or so titles Germano has planned for the near future, the most instructive looks to be *Lesbian and Gay Theories*, a collection of essays edited by Diana Fuss of Princeton. According to Professor Fuss, her book will attempt to map out the field as it's developed so far. Some sample entries: Sue-Ellen Case (University of Washington) on "Excavating the Psyche-Ecology of Lesbian Vampires." An essay by Cindy Patton (UMass Amherst) on safe sex—in which, according to Professor Fuss, Professor Patton "deploys psychoanalytic lesbian-feminist film theory to pose the question of what makes sex 'safe' in safe-sex videos." An essay by Michele Barale (Amherst College) on "(Un)Dressing the Lesbian Text," in which Professor Barale addresses "the semiotics of lesbian book covers." And don't forget Wayne Koestenbaum (Yale University), who'll be writing on the "poetics of gay porn" and the "evolution of gay discourse in the physique magazines of the 1950s." Where can we sign up?

■ GALILEO REDUX: Rabbi Adin Steinsaltz has been compared as a Jewish scholar to the medieval Talmudists Rashi and Maimonides—a claim more or less on the order of comparing a modern Catholic scholar to Thomas Aquinas. When Random House begins publishing Steinsaltz's monumental translation of the Talmud this December, it hopes to capitalize on the rabbi's reputation and turn his edition of the Talmud—thirty or so volumes of ancient and often impenetrable legal commentary—into a commercial success. Which is why the folks at Random might be nervous about the recent controversy in Israel over the rabbi's scholarship.

Last month Rabbi Eliezer Schach, leader of the ultra-Orthodox political party Degel Hatorah, observed that three of Rabbi Steinsaltz's books of Biblical interpretation contain "sectarianism and heresy," and subsequently pronounced a ban not only on the three books themselves, but on all of Steinsaltz's work, including his translation of the Talmud. That was bad enough. Steinsaltz's response only made things worse. When other rabbis seconded Schach's condemnation, Steinsaltz, like a frightened bureaucrat in a Soviet show trial, agreed publicly to renounce his errors, advised readers not to use the offending books, and offered a full refund to anyone who asked for it. Does the incident tend to undermine Steinsaltz's credibility as a scholar? One prominent American critic, Rabbi Jacob Neusner, compares Steinsaltz to Galileo, who in deference to the Inquisition renounced his belief that the earth orbits the sun. "He has humiliated himself," says Neusner. The *Jerusalem Post* speculates that, with his retraction, Steinsaltz has "limited his freedom in the academic world." Is Random House worried? Steinsaltz's editor, Peter Osnos, will say no more than that "it is quite possible the Steinsaltz Talmud will sell well for centuries."

—DAVID KLINGHOFFER

radio and TV stations with clips—known in the trade as "actualities" and "video news releases"—that could be used as "news," though slanted against Bork, and many stations played them without acknowledging that their source was the anti-Bork coalition. It raises, as they say, troubling questions of journalistic ethics, but it worked. Truth catches up with such practices only in Bronner's pages.

The White House, expecting a man of Bork's distinction to be confirmed easily, was caught flat-footed by the organized onslaught and never recovered. Bork himself couldn't bear to indulge in the kind of I-do-*too*-love-women-and-minorities posturing that some urged on him. But however weak the defense was, there is no excuse at all for the attackers.

Bronner argues lamely that the controversy was at bottom a contest of rival visions of America, and that the pro-Bork side failed to make its case: "Wittingly or not, the Administration denied minorities the ineffable: a sense that government cared." Most Americans, he says, disagreed with Bork's view that the judiciary had been overstepping its proper bounds, a judgment Bronner justifies only with the results of the nomination battle itself.

All those results proved was that the smears succeeded. By every indication, Bork *would* have won in a fair fight. That he was ill-prepared for the fight he got is too bad; a man more ingratiating might have overcome what he had to face. But he should never have had to face it. The whole affair was one of the dirtiest spectacles in American political history. Ted Kennedy sank even in the esteem of people who already regarded him with profound contempt. Yet Bronner writes blandly: "Kennedy did distort Bork's record, but his statement was not the act of a desperate man. This was a confident and seasoned politician, one who knew how to combine passion and pragmatism in the Senate."

A year after Bork had been drenched in this flood of sanctimony and slander, liberal opinion was decrying references to Willie Horton—all of them, as far as I know, perfectly factual—in the 1988 presidential race. One's sense of the limits of human effrontery had to be extended.

Against the advice of some of his discouraged backers, Bork chose to hang in to the end, even when it had become plain that the Senate would reject him. He said that to withdraw would have been to concede victory to the smear campaign. It was an honorable stand, and at that point he may have been right. But it's arguable that he should have withdrawn earlier, when the outcome was still uncertain, as a way of refusing to be judged under such prejudicial conditions. A fair vote had become impossible, thanks in large part to the men—Kennedy and Joseph Biden—who bore responsibility for guaranteeing an atmosphere appropriate to the solemn business of evaluating a candidate for the Supreme Court. Such a gesture might have reaffirmed the dignity of the Court and delivered a stunning rebuke to the demagogues who'd reduced the nomination process to the level of bearbaiting.

It's now easier to see the contours of the affair. As long as the Court was their reliable ally, liberals protectively insulated it from the pressures of politics and publicity. Now that its membership is predominantly conservative, the rules have changed, and liberals—especially the mass media

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organs—sanction mass demonstrations and other extraneous methods of influencing the Court's deliberations. The fight over Bork was only the beginning. We're now living in Ted Kennedy's America. □

Breaking the Circle

SLIMANE ZEGHIDOUR

The Closed Circle: An Interpretation of the Arabs, by David Pryce-Jones (Harper & Row, 464 pp., $25)

"At present," David Pryce-Jones writes at the conclusion of *The Closed Circle*, "an Arab democrat is not even an idealization, but a contradiction in terms . . . , [and] the Arab masses must remain uninvolved in influencing their own fate, unable to exercise the element of choice without which there is neither creativity nor true independence, nor even a genuine nation . . . [The] Arabs are the losers, a danger to themselves, dropping out of the making of history, but beyond that the rest of the world is deprived of what ought to be the valuable contribution of these people." The judgment falls like the blade of a guillotine. David Pryce-Jones allows no appeal.

The *circle* of the title is the Arab world itself. Pryce-Jones has subtitled the book, "An Interpretation of the Arabs," and his book is less a work of Arab history than a psychoanalytical study of the Arab soul. This soul, Pryce-Jones believes, is well expressed by the poet al-Mutanabbi (915-965): "High honor is not safe from injury until blood is spilt over its flanks."

Why are Arabs so afflicted with civil wars and despotic regimes? Why do they languish in poverty at a time when nationalism and the oil boom should have created a radiant present? These are the questions Pryce-Jones poses directly, devoting 13 chapters to the discussion—chapters loaded with facts, historical anecdotes, and citations culled from the best sources. But again, while he holds forth masterfully on the complex, changing panorama of the Arab world, his real interest is in the enduring nature of the Arab *character*, which he believes has its genesis in desert tribalism. The tribe, the clan, the family enclose the individual in a narrow world in which everything is measured by a code of honor. Such a world view is incompatible with "Western concepts" of order, loyalty, and justice; which is why, according to Pryce-Jones, Arabs resist democracy, subjugate their women, and persecute minorities. The failure of Western politicians to grasp the Arab character guarantees continuing Western reverses in the Middle East.

Pryce-Jones holds virtually no hope for the Arab future. (Against the possibility of change, he cites the example of Kemal Ataturk in Turkey —although Turkey is not an Arab nation—as evidence of the limits of political evolution in the region.) The Arab character, as Pryce-Jones understands it, is simply too coarse. From modernity, the Arab has accepted only National Socialism, Communism, and the fabulous petroleum windfall, whose riches, according to Pryce-Jones, have only aggravated the Arab hatred of Jews and Israel. The new wealth has stiffened Arab opposition to the "free world" and widened the abyss separating rich and poor in the Arab world. And so, intoxicated by petrodollars, blinded by aversion for the West, and disconcerted by a world progressing without them, Arabs are condemned to wander in a circle. This is the verdict.

Pryce-Jones's case *is* vigorously expounded. It is incisive and effective. The author is, like the Arabs themselves, passionate. But the case is not always convincing to a reader eager to understand *before* he judges. The "interpretation of the Arabs" staggers beneath the weight of Arab complexity, and, notwithstanding ample documentation, the author's conclusions cannot match his premises. So, while it is useful to point to the clannish and arbitrary nature of the majority of Arab states—to their scorn for the welfare of their people, to their indifference to the lot of women, and to their infantile understanding of the West (which they see as a dissolute society *and* as a source of material goods)—it is less useful for Pryce-Jones to maintain that the source of such indisputable defects is this immutable Arab psyche, impervious to external influence. An Arab will always be an Arab! Such a principle certainly does allow the Orientalist easy (and summary, for good or for ill) descriptions of a

Mr. Zeghidour is an Algerian writer living in Paris. He is the author of several books on the Arab world and is a member of the editorial board of Notre Histoire.

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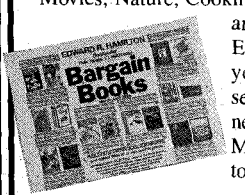

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people's history: the Arab is poetic, hospitable, and chivalrous; the Arab is deceitful, lascivious, and indolent.

This is all the more regrettable, given the brio of the author. He fails to provide nuances to his verdict, but he fails with such disarming insouciance! Perhaps this is a technique designed to deflect attention from his more debatable conclusions. For instance, while detailing Arab collaboration with the Nazis, he fails to note that, although Arab nationalists like Anwar Sadat did lend an ear to the siren song of Hitlerism, that did not prevent thousands of other Arabs from responding to Allied appeals, and from fighting and dying far from their native soil. Pryce-Jones also fails to note that a desperate Gamal Abdel Nasser only turned to the Soviet Union after he had been rejected by the United States. He ignores, too, the impact of colonialism upon Arab anti-Western sentiment. (I hasten to add, however, that the "American way of life" remains the ideal for the vast majority of Arabs.)

With justification, Pryce-Jones denounces Palestinian terrorism and the importunities of the PLO, but he fails to recognize that there is some validity in the brief Palestinians hold against Israel. When he suggests that Palestinian nationalism is a manifestation of European anti-Semitism, he is applying labels, not advancing ideas. That is his privilege, but the polemical tension permeating the work, while imparting an incontestable dynamism, sweeps past the lively (and, yes, *evolutionary*) forces that are at work throughout the Arab world, from the Egypt of Sadat to the Algeria of those under twenty. He takes little notice of the millions of Arabs, Christian and Moslem, who have emigrated to both sides of the Atlantic. Their influence should not fail to have an effect, sooner or later, upon their brothers still within the closed circle." □

The Family Business

JOE MYSAK

IT HAS not been all "No, no, not *that* one—the *other* one" for the grandson of the greatest Englishman of the twentieth century. His name has proved to be both a glory and a curse, but instead of taking to the bottle or, worse, becoming a public nuisance, Winston S. Churchill the younger chose instead to enter the family businesses of journalism and politics, and at 49 is a Conservative member of Parliament with a successful career and some very exciting "memories and adventures."

Memories and Adventures, by Winston S. Churchill (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 272 pp., $19.95)

"I had come to realize from an early age," he writes, "that the name of Winston Churchill, which I was so proud to bear, was both a lot to live up to and a lot to live down." He submits some very amusing evidence. For instance, when he and a co-pilot landed in Fez in 1962 (an excursion also chronicled in his earlier book *First Journey*), a young Moroccan army officer demanded to see their papers. "Unfortunately for me the officer asked me my name. Naturally I told him. He immediately pronounced us drunk and ordered a soldier to arrest us both."

Then there was the time when, running for election in 1967, he was treated to the sight of a Young Conservative canvasser being vigorously shaken by the lapels by a robust old-timer bellowing, "Your bloody Grandad murdered everyone on the beaches of Gallipoli!" Churchill writes: "Amazed that such a charge should still be hurled on the political hustings more than half a century after the event, I raced up the street to rescue my young supporter and to explain that it was my 'bloody Grandad,' not his, and that anyway he had his facts wrong."

Harold Macmillan told young Winston upon the death of his father in 1968 that Randolph Churchill had been one of the last to live in the "grand manner." In fact, the same might be said of the son. As a result, his autobiography is free of the struggle that so tried his namesake. He never had to bounce back, as his grandfather once said *he* had, with the "tenacity of India rubber." Born in 1940 at Chequers, the country residence of Britain's prime ministers (his first memories were of the bright lights of the Blitz), Mr. Churchill was a child of privilege, full of the knowledge that his grandfather was the most important man in the world. Playing croquet with Field Marshal Montgomery at Chartwell, the Churchill country seat, lunching with Hemingway at the Ritz in Paris, performing the duties of a page at the coronation of Elizabeth II: this was the stuff of Churchill's childhood.

H. L. Mencken once noted that not having been born in a log cabin certainly tested one's mettle. Mr. Churchill has no log cabin among his memories, but he still manages a very straightforward approach to his life's story. Nor does he showcase any of the bizarre sorts of nightmares that plague our more fashionable autobiog-

Tim Bower

Mr. Mysak is managing editor of the daily Bond Buyer.

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raphers. His parents were divorced when he was very young; he bears them no ill will, and professes to love them both. He was sent to Eton, where, as a small, shy lad, he was subjected to the usual schoolboy tortures, but he muses: "The great thing about an English public-school education is the admirable way in which it prepares one for future life. One can go out into the world confident in the knowledge that life can contain few greater discomforts, humiliations, or terrors than those to which one has already been subjected."

Lacking obsessive soul-searching and angst, *Memories and Adventures* is decidedly old-fashioned: full of charming recollections and dashing exploits. It is not all intimate glimpses of life with the grand old man at Chartwell and of barbecues with the Kennedys at Hyannisport. When young Winston proposed to fly around Africa in a single-engine plane, old Winston objected. "When *you* were my age," the grandson remonstrated, "you had already come under fire in Cuba, fought on the northwest frontier of India, and were on the point of charging with the 21st Lancers at Omdurman." Grandad relented.

Young Churchill ate crocodile with Albert Schweitzer. He reported from Vietnam, flying missions with American fighters. He covered Israel's Six-Day War, and learned how the war was really won in its first three hours: the Israeli air force was trained to rearm, refuel, and return planes to the air in seven minutes; it took the Egyptians three hours.

Battle experience won him the job of Front Bench Spokesman on Defense for the Conservatives, but his vote against renewing sanctions against white-ruled Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) cost him a probable ministerial position in Margaret Thatcher's government. "I have reflected long and hard . . ." he writes, "on my decision to cast my vote as I did on that occasion, but what, at the end of the day, is the value of public service—indeed of life—if those involved do not have the courage of their convictions and are not prepared to suffer the consequences?"

Those who come to this memoir seeking tales of Churchill's grandfather will find little not already (and better) covered elsewhere. One does get a somewhat different portrait of the indomitable Randolph, whom Malcolm Muggeridge termed an embarrassment to his friends, a gift to his enemies, and a terror to hostesses everywhere. Churchill's reminiscence of his father is at once madcap and sympathetic. "Each human being is endowed with his or her share of virtues and vices. In my father's case, these were writ larger than most. He could be loud, boorish, offensive, bellicose and downright rude, often without just cause." Drink did not help matters, but, withal, says Winston, Randolph had a large heart. "Only once he had gone, did I realize how much he had meant to me . . ."

Memories and Adventures is a graceful, classic autobiography. *This* Winston S. Churchill fellow may make a name for himself yet. □

Mound of Mystery

DAVID BOVENIZER

OUR ENGLISH cousins correctly consider Peter Ackroyd one of their most gifted young writers. For sheer entertainment, for satire and pastiche, he is unrivaled in his generation. He has written a celebrated biography of T. S. Eliot and five luminous novels, the most recent of which is *First Light*. It contains many of the elements of good writing, including characters that are finely and deftly drawn and unusually short chapters that heighten the suspense of a story mixing London sophisticates, country rustics, modern technology, and ancient mythology. It is a virtuoso performance.

First Light, by Peter Ackroyd (Grove/Weidenfeld, 336 pp., $19.95)

And yet, a serious concern lingers. Will American readers, unfamiliar with Thomas Hardy (from whose style, settings, and even language Ackroyd freely and purposefully borrows) and not acquainted with the British penchant for the subtle disclosure of character, stay with Ackroyd long enough to discern his method and meaning? For make no mistake about it, *First Light*, though wonderfully engaging, is in many respects frustrating, or so it may seem to those used to swift plotting, constant action, and broadly, as opposed to *specifically*, crafted characterizations.

Ackroyd is a master teaser. He teases in the sense that his writing gives constant clues of his intentions. These have less to do with development (let alone *denouement*) of plot than with the masterful disclosure of typical expressions of the modern personality in all its superficiality, comedy, hubris, and tragedy. But his pursuit of these objectives through satire and humor, puncturing poses in the manner of a P. J. O'Rourke, often obscures his achievement and very nearly spoils it.

First Light is the tale of a dozen or so individuals engaged in excavating a huge ancient tumulus in Dorset. The mound seems at first to be a massive, marvelously conceived reconfiguration of the heavens. A place of worship, perhaps? But the excavations soon reveal that the site is also a tomb, perhaps of the chief astronomer who inhabited the place around 4500 B.C. The process by which the entombed man's identity is determined—and the significance of that identity—is splendidly wrought, though whether the conclusion of the episode is as successfully handled is a question each reader must answer for himself.

But what *is* the meaning of it all? Readers who wish for a story that tells itself will be disappointed. However, those who prefer stories of a superior type, stories demanding the full engagement of the moral imagination, will be rewarded, for *First Light* portrays contemporary men and women, their spirits diminished by self-absorption, in confrontation with an ancient sensibility of the sacred; of, in Ackroyd's oft-repeated phrase, "another time." Here is the human pilgrimage illuminated by the gifts of a superb stylist. □

Mr. Bovenizer, of Regnery Gateway, is editor of the Cahill & Company *and* American Citizen *reader's catalogues.*

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A WORD EDGEWISE

An 'Edgewise' Manifesto

PETER LUBIN

THE WORLD is suddenly full of electronic gewgaws: from videocassettes and car telephones to laptop computers and FAX machines. We vaguely sense these gadgets to be part of a perceptible diminishment of the word, of the role of language in our lives.

In our cities, noise is everywhere. Rock music is piped into restaurants and supermarkets. Muzak is heard in elevators and waiting rooms. Ad jingles and pop music may be inflicted on us when we are . . . Put On Hold. Rap music blares from boom boxes, car radios, and apartment windows. No sweet airs and the food of love; the pulsating beat is often warlike, the lyrics sharp words: obscene, violent, and cruel.

Images are ubiquitous: glossy magazine covers at every kiosk, flyers and brochures in every mailbox. Ads are everywhere: television commercials, movie posters, billboards. Whether we wish to or not, we will see and hear several hundred thousand advertisements this year. We cannot escape, and it will be worse for our children.

Words have lost their status. Our collective vocabulary shrinks; our syntax becomes more monotonous. We strip the language of ornament—of metaphor and proverb, of folk sayings and rich colloquialisms—to fit these leaner, meaner times. We know we are missing something when we talk to our grandparents, or speak to someone from rural Maine or rural Mississippi, or watch in envy a documentary on the farmers and fishermen of the Aran Islands. *Our* English is chrome-plated, mechanical. Neither the language of "business communications" nor that spoken by lawyers and accountants is an adequate substitute for a living, human language. Prose and speech are under pressure to fit various Procrustean beds—an op-ed column, a sound bite. Many magazines offer thin rivulets of bland prose that flow between wide banks of illustration. Our children's schoolbooks are full of graphics and photographs, the texts themselves simplified beyond belief, as if written for the Cat in the Hat.

Young Americans cannot possibly realize what they have missed. Their ignorance of history is the stuff of legend. Their poor power to add or subtract is beyond reckoning. But there is another, even worse, failing,

Beginning with this issue, "A Word Edgewise" will be a regular column in which Mr. Lubin writes about the joys and sorrows, the use and abuse of words. In this, his first contribution, Mr. Lubin confesses his prejudices regarding the state of language today.

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less easy to measure. A generation has been very nearly dispossessed of its own language, not by a conqueror's fiat, but by its own inattention.

If you eavesdrop in the schoolyard, you will discover that many students cannot speak without an obscenity in every second phrase. The compositions written by students—even at the "best" colleges—are dismaying. They contain prepositions that are awry, subjects and verbs that do not agree, adjectives that are inapt, clauses that refer to nothing in particular, sentences that end in midair. Mandatory writing courses have not made up for the years of neglect. The cliché, that outward sign of inward mental lassitude, is ubiquitous. One might almost believe that these compositions were written by foreigners. But the ignorance displayed is not the honest ignorance of the foreigner, but the kind that results from laziness, indifference, and contempt for language.

Some worry aloud about the state of the language, but unless the complaints come from Prince Charles, they are unlikely to be heeded. The language sometimes seems to be breaking down into separate jargons—that of the doctor, the lawyer, the financial planner, the psychologist, the sociologist, the consultant—so that, perhaps, we no longer possess a common tongue. Precious mental energy is expended trying to figure out what is being said in these various jargons. When someone uses words that are simple and true, we are suspicious. We wonder if the person using them possesses sufficient authority, sufficient "expertise" in the field. We may fail to realize that the ability to think clearly and to use words well is itself a rare skill which ought to command respect.

The misuse of words must be opposed. But that is not enough. We ought to celebrate language, celebrate humble words, forgotten words, rare words, invented words. Most of us recognize the poetry of place-names —say, of the Shenandoah or the Susquehanna, of Ca Ira, Virginia, or Pickpocket Hills, New Hampshire. Many sense the beauty of the old proverbs and sayings which are now so neglected—"Many a little makes a muckle," or "All that glisters is not gold"—even if their own store of proverb lore is small. In college one is unlikely to study these matters, for English professors are not encouraged to deal with language at this humble but indispensable level.

Language can be defended, and its interests promoted, in the coliseum of the mass media. If people are pointed in a certain direction, they will see for themselves what they have been missing. There is profit and pleasure to be derived from the study of words, rightly used and understood. Such study may help all of us withstand the technological forces that now encroach on language and on life.

In "Politics and the English Language" George Orwell analyzed the connection between the corruption of language and the corruption of political life. It does not end with politics. The impoverishment and degradation of our language also furthers the breakdown of moral and intellectual order.

Twenty-five hundred years before Orwell, Confucius had already summed up the matter: "If concepts are not right, words are not true. If words are not true, morality and the arts do not thrive. If morality and the arts do not thrive, justice miscarries. If justice miscarries, the nation does not know where to put its feet and hands. Therefore, disorder in words must not be tolerated." □

ART

The Vergil of Things

JEFFREY HART

An important exhibition consisting of selections from the work of Varujan Boghosian will be on display this fall at the Currier Gallery in Manchester, New Hampshire. I viewed the exhibition in an earlier showing at the Hood Museum, a handsome and commodious new build-

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ing on the campus of Dartmouth College.

Mr. Boghosian works in a variety of media, but his preoccupation for a quarter-century has been the construction, three-dimensional compositions that employ a wide variety of materials. The initial, powerful impression one received at the Hood was of the variety of textures—especially of different old woods.

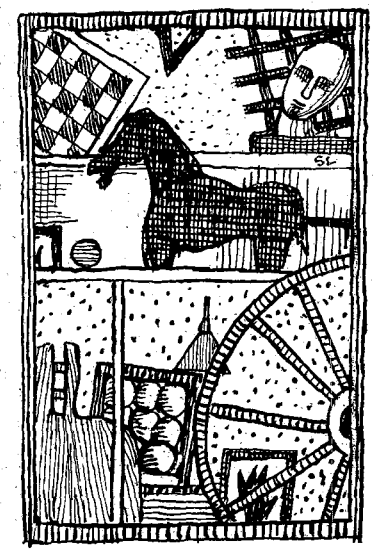
The square frame of *Night and Day (Orpheus and Pluto)* (1963) is an old wooden saltbox at which barn animals once licked. The wear along its edges and the patina on its surfaces were endowed by the animals and have created a beautiful object. The legendary Orpheus failed to bring his wife, Eurydice, back from the dead, but Boghosian manages to bring the presence of those long-dead animals into the gallery room.

The Lyre (1971) again evokes Orpheus. Its old, pale blue wooden frame is flecked with many different-colored paint spots. Perhaps it was an artist's easel. The dark backdrop is an old lap desk where once someone sat, doing accounts, writing letters—or, perhaps, a poem. An old cheese cutter forms a beautiful lyre from which hangs a startlingly pale doll's head—the head of Orpheus, severed by the women of Thrace. It is a work of harmony and evocative beauty.

The Orpheus myth is a central theme in Boghosian's constructions, because the works themselves are "rescue operations." Boghosian transforms our present consciousness of these old, dead objects by creating works of art that are strange, unique, and completely new. They are brought back from Pluto's kingdom.

Orpheus is a spiritual presence here, but so, importantly, is Vergil, who wrote, "*Sunt lachrymae rerum:*" There are tears at the heart of things. (Indeed, the *Aeneid* contains more weeping than any other great work I know.) The tears are for the dead, whom we feel present in Boghosian's materials: a brass bucket, a child's highchair, ribbons, bells, and blocks, kitchen utensils, weathered doors, old tools, old playing cards, old letters, and even an old footwarmer.

Many (though scarcely all) of the objects Boghosian transforms are products of nineteenth-century industrialism. The aesthetic uses of nineteenth-century artifacts began early in this century in the work of Marcel Duchamp, Man Ray, and others. Perhaps the most famous of transformed objects is the bicycle handlebars used by Pablo Picasso as a bull's horns. Boghosian's themes and materials, however, are entirely his own, and they define in their combinations a distinctive mental weather.



In addition to Orpheus and his myth, Boghosian often represents the clown Puncinello, one of the characters of the Renaissance *commedia dell'arte*. Both figures represent the difficulty, perhaps even the impossibility, of a perfect art. Boghosian variously depicts Puncinello struggling against the frame in which he is contained, or imprisoned behind a heavy wooden door, or trying to escape from behind the canvas. In one construction, the clown reaches out through prison bars that are the strings of a lyre. He is trying to possess a small sphere, which he cannot pull back through the bars.

Spheres appear frequently in Boghosian's works and appear to me to represent traditional significations of perfection and wholeness, which are almost always (though, perhaps, not completely) unattainable. In the splendid *I Will Give You One O* (1977), a composition of wood, brass, cloth, string, and slate, the clown in the conical hat holds a ball of string in his left hand and proffers a small red sphere with his right. This is the "One O" of the title. Four much larger brass spheres appear at the lower left, one at the lower right. Perhaps the small red sphere is the *achievable* and the larger ones are the *ideal*. The wood texture is once again spectacular.

Varujan Boghosian is, despite his name, quintessentially American. He was born in New Britain, Connecticut, in 1926, served in the Navy during the Second World War, and completed his formal education at the Yale School of Art and Architecture. He has taught at Yale, Brown, Dartmouth, and elsewhere and has won many distinguished awards.

Unlike many artists, Boghosian talks willingly about himself and his work. He speaks with knowledge and animation about the significance of myth, his love of materials, and the importance of titles. He ranges over a very wide cultural plain; as at ease with Motherwell as with Magritte.

His basement studio at Dartmouth is large and cluttered with a vast array of different objects, all awaiting transformation, rebirth. □

SOUND ON DISC

Musical Comedy, CD Jazz

RALPH DE TOLEDANO

THOUGH IT HAS been taken over by dubious receivers, the Broadway musical remains a uniquely American product. Combining the best of our popular song, wonderful theater, and the *Geist* of the American melting pot, it called to itself the best dancers, singers, and comedians of the nightclubs and the popular stage and projected them into stardom. Like burlesque, it created its own forms and conventions—and then, as all art should, cast them aside. For a time, they have turned down the house lights, but the songs and the scores remain.

Because the Broadway musical grew up with the phonograph record, many of the great moments were preserved on 78-rpm shellac. And now the Smithsonian Collection of Recordings has gathered up much of this history and nostalgia and has issued it on four compact discs, boxed with a 132-page booklet tracing the history of the genre and the background of

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the individual selections, as *American Musical Theater—Shows, Songs, and Stars* (RD 036, I-IV).

So here they are: Lillian Russell, George M. Cohan, and Noble Sissle; Al Jolson dredging up "You Made Me Love You" from a forgotten musical, *Honeymoon Express*; the Astaires, Fred and Adele, in the *Ziegfeld Follies of 1919*; the Gertrude Lawrence of *Oh, Kay!*; Eddie Cantor's *Whoopee* and the highlights of Helen Morgan's and Paul Robeson's *Show Boat*; Tamara's "Smoke Gets in Your Eyes" from *Roberta*, which I saw one night when the Little Flower was in the audience. Those are the oldies for us geriatrics.

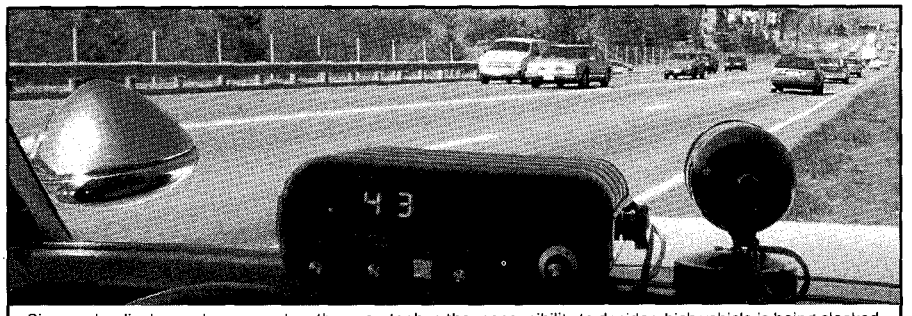
But move up the time frame and there is Walter Huston's "September Song" and Mary Martin's "My Heart Belongs to Daddy"; Ethel Merman and Bert Lahr run through "Friendship" from *DuBarry Was a Lady*, a spoof to which I contributed part of a racy scene; Ethel Waters singing that lover of a song, "Taking a Chance on Love" from the Duke–LaTouche *Cabin in the Sky*; Ethel Merman belting out some of Cole Porter's bounciest tunes; and Ezio Pinza making the Met human with "Some Enchanted Evening," which gave us all hopes of folly. There are many more in this collection, with the nostalgia and the melody up to your eyebrows—and when these are done, an enterprising record company will be able to issue another four CDs without exhausting the cookie jar. (Smithsonian Collection of Recordings, 955 L'Enfant Plaza, Washington, D.C. 20560; 202-287-3759.)

JAZZ LIVES! And the era in which it was moving out of its traditional or mainstream forms is returning, *Dieu merci*, sweeping away the excesses of super blop, or was it buper sleep. It is there in the introspective interpretations on the piano of Marcus Roberts, with the equally restrained and lovely adumbrations of Wynton Marsalis on horn, in *Marcus Roberts: The Truth Is Spoken Here*. This is a recreation of the time when jazz musicians were discovering the truths of dissonance and treating them gently. This recording is a CD best-seller, and deserves to be (RCA 3051-2-N).

For those who are giving some heed to my listings of classical jazz as transferred to CD, I offer the following, all out of the top drawer:

How Blue Can You Get?—Great Blues Vocals in the Jazz Tradition (RCA-Bluebird 6758-2 RB). The blues began as *a cappella* singing. The instrumental background followed, and then the small bands moved in. On this record you have it in its middle form—Deep South Leadbelly, Lonnie Johnson, Louis Armstrong, and even Jack Teagarden. Into the Swing Era are Helen Humes, who added luster to the Count Basie band, and the ineffable Mildred Bailey, with Hot Lips Page and Maxine Sullivan recalling the 52nd Street era. This is a fine sampler, but there is so much more—so much, in the 1930s expression, that is beat to the socks. It will take a while, but I'm sure we will have it.

Early Black Swing, 1927–1934 (RCA-Bluebird 9583-2 RB). Among the young fry, there's the idea that Benny



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Goodman and the other Swing Era greats sprang full armed in 1936, like Athena out of the brain of Zeus. Do not believe it, Uncle. They were playing it in Harlem, Kansas City, and Chicago before the Swing Era stars were starring. Fletcher Henderson, in New York, was leading a band which included some of the greatest sidemen of jazz, including the Bixian Joe Smith. Bennie Moten was laying the groundwork for the powerhouse Basie band. Duke Ellington had recorded the great standards which would be imitated by every band from here to West Overshoes. On this recording, you can hear these great jazz orchestras of the pre-Swing era. What the later aggregations owed to them is manifest—and so much fun to listen to.

Erskine Hawkins & His Orchestra: The Original Tuxedo Junction (RCA-Bluebird 9682-2 RB). "Solid" is the word we used about the very good hot bands of the late 1930s and early 1940s. And the Erskine Hawkins band was solid right down to its shoe laces. It had solid arrangements, a solid beat, solid soloists, and Hawkins's horn was solid as well. The problem, looking back, is that the Erskine Hawkins group played mostly to black audiences. It seldom hit the gilded hotel ballrooms or made the late-night radio spots. But play this CD and you will begin kicking your heels in a series of jazz *entrechats*.

Paul Desmond–Gerry Mulligan: Two of a Mind (RCA-Bluebird 9654-2-RB). Here two saxophone players—Paul Desmond, alto, and Gerry Mulligan, baritone—take lovely standards like "All the Things You Are" and "Stardust" down a long road from the melody. Both soloists, backed by drums and bass, have perfected to full mellowness the techniques of their instruments. They improvise not on the melody but on the chord, so they are in effect composing. This is the jazz that followed jazz, and it moves a long way from its source. But it is fine music which never forgets its obligation to the beat, and bearing no responsibilities for the frenzies that followed. It belongs in any representative jazz library. □

THE GIMLET EYE

The Love of Randomness

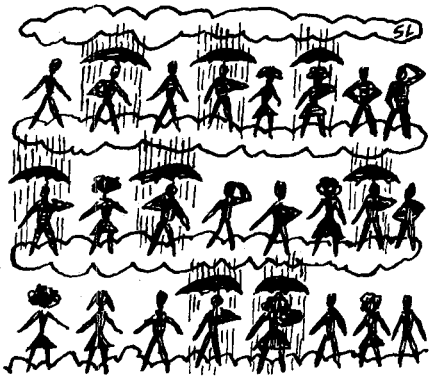
D. KEITH MANO

As once I may have told you, there is a magic island in my room. Fiction writing, all writing, tends to restrict: styptic for the brain. To forestall stress fracture, I allow myself an alternative universe, in which each event, each "human" choice is random—allocated or withdrawn by a dice throw. Has the garbanzo crop been large? Are hurricanes forming? Can the Communist insurrection be bought off? I throw 12-sided dice and there is blight, flood, capitulation or not. Chance, by contrast, has little franchise in the archipelago known as the novel. Rules and logic are absolute (it must have "structure," it must "sound good")—absolute and *hard* (that "sounded good" yesterday, why not now?). Here my decisions are totalitarian. (They had better also be shrewd.) No country, no ethnic type has endured despotism more than the characters of fiction.

I cherish randomness. A universe governed by luck is liberating. In randomness you have no one to propitiate: there is neither responsibility nor guilt. In the real world, of course, randomness has often been a surrogate for terror. Hannah Arendt, writing about concentration-camp life, said that minds came apart when cause and effect were divorced. Prisoner X has been caught committing a venial infraction. Guards shove him up against the execution wall. They fire. Prisoner Y is shot instead. Let us at least be murdered logically. There are reasons enough for becoming Christian, but the most attractive, I'd guess, is that God has a plan. Christians continue to experience daunting apparent randomness, but there is (and they have this on good report) a mysterious and just premeditation underneath it all.

Indeed, one might theorize that Christians cannot even entertain randomness as a hypothesis without contradicting their creed. God is omniscient, omnipotent, quite generally impressive. Each hair on your head, Jesus said, has been numbered. Every sparrow falling blips the screen. I only *think* that my magic island is run by chance. Indefatigable God has been drawn into fantasy as well. Even now He is counting my garbanzo crop.

But the concept of Christian free will intrudes here. God, like any competent executive, has learned to delegate. It is good for corporate morale. Yet free will, you might



interject, can hardly be random. An act of free will represents rational insight trained upon past experience, self-interest, and potential reward. Maybe so. But to *God*—even though all human choice be foreknown by Him—to God our free will is random. A thrown die. Christian free will is that element of uncertainty permitted in the universe by His free will. High-rolling God—though he may comprehend all—can never be sure: sureness would make free will a sham. We are told, for instance, that prayer is efficacious. If I—in my free will—pray "lead us not into temptation," God may be moved, by my faith and true penitence, to remove the hobble, alter a meeting—to change, in fact, our material universe. And, so it might seem, God has His wins and losses.

Such randomness, one may protest, would introduce chaos into the Christian world view. Maybe. And maybe that introduction is appropriate now. After all, *chaos theory* has become "one of the fastest-growing fields in science, offering a new way of finding order in systems that appear to have no order at all." (The scientific portions of this essay are drawn from an article by James Gleick in *Smithsonian*, "New Images of Chaos" [Dec. 1987]—abstracted from his book, *Chaos: Making a New Science* [Viking, 1987].)

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A haphazard water drip, a roulette wheel, an irregular heartbeat, weather: because of their disorderly behavior these phenomena confounded traditional "linear" physics. You could not program them; they were casual, aimless, rather like a human Tuesday or Wednesday. Yet physicists (at UCal Santa Cruz, for instance) have found remarkable—albeit unrepeated and general—patterning in what seemed mere promiscuity just one decade ago.

So, as a complex event—New England weather, say—is scrutinized, the team of physicists will try to isolate and program any irrational element by imposing chaos technique on it. Jet stream. Gulf current. Sun-spot formation. These are known as "strange attractors." Ostensibly irrational, each has a chaotic pattern that, given enough data, can be plotted with some assurance. The water drip is a strange attractor; so is the flapping of your car fender at 70 mph. Snowflake formation is too. And, yes, free will. Free will is a strange attractor.

I don't contend here that IBM, by 2100 A.D., may be able to access next week. But chaos theory does suggest that God, in the forefront of science as usual, has outstripped us once again. This is less surprising than you might suppose: science of late, arcane sub-atomic physics in particular, has begun to implicate a higher presence. The Second Coming may arrive as fractal geometry on some lab computer screen. That our universe is irrational and unjust has long been a forceful argument against His existence. Yet all the randomness we perceive from Big Bang through Big Whimper may, in fact, contain secret, huge rhythms of creation and destiny. There can be no more tremendous a paradox—suitable to an omnipotent creator—than order-from-chaos. No: order-*in*-chaos. If my dripping faucet has its appreciable tendency, then why not a *universe* of dripping faucets, us?

And with reason, since men are made in His image, I can attribute to God the instinct for play. *Deus ludens*, father of *homo ludens*. That, I understand, may sound frivolous at first. The stakes, in our narrow purview, seem too important for play. But God has never been a toyer-with. By play I mean, rather, a slackness, a certain *give*, with which we endow a length of rope when we "play it out." This suggests the opportunity (and risk) of randomness: freedom enough to hang yourself. I favor this God over the One who has just the old, mechanistic physics at His disposal.

So even chance—still obstinate, still anarchic—is not incompatible with divine arrangement. Men have begun to apprehend a new description of certainty: that it may have all the traits that characterize disorder and yet be under law, and those who ask, "How can God exist when there is chaos in our universe?" may have answered their own question. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Care and Punishment, by Curtis Prout, MD, and Robert N. Ross (University of Pittsburgh Press, 272 pp, $29.95)

IN THE average prison, health care is poor indeed. Physicians are regarded by the inmates as a part of the system and, hence, as enemies. The best solution for the future would appear to be privatization, and not just of health care, but also of the prisons themselves, or so say the authors of this interesting study, Dr. Prout, of the Harvard Medical School, and his collaborator, Mr. Ross. Among the many fascinating chapters in their book, each deserving a book in itself, none has more impact than the one on privatization. As the authors write, ". . . for a variety of economic and political reasons, a growing number of for-profit companies are offering health services [to prisons] just as any other service industry would compete in the marketplace." A recent survey has shown that, at present, only 22 per cent of state correctional agencies in the United States would consider an outside contractor for the management of an entire correctional facility, while fully 74 per cent will not. Still, a few prisons are already being operated privately, and many large corporations are seeking entry into the field. The authors' data on the health of prisoners and on the inadequate care in the prison system make clear that privatization is certainly the best solution for the prisoners themselves. After all, as a population, they have little or no impact on the legislators on whom they currently depend. —HERBERT A. KENNY

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TRANS-O-GRAM / Kem Putney

1 E	2 B	3 K		4 R	5 I	6 Q	7 D	8 A	9 C	10 L	11 G	12 J	13 B		14 P	15 D	16 C		17 E
18 S	19 R	20 N		21 G	22 F	23 K		24 J	25 H	26 C	27 R	28 D	29 G		30 N	31 Q	32 S	33 E	34 H
35 K		36 L	37 P	38 A	39 M	40 F		41 C	42 B	43 I	44 S	45 H		46 B	47 A	48 N	49 Q	50 E	
51 C	52 J	53 B	54 D	55 P		56 K	57 F		58 I	59 N	60 J		61 D	62 B	63 M	64 N	65 C	66 E	
67 G	68 B	69 R		70 L	71 O	72 Q	73 D		74 K	75 I	76 B		77 H	78 G		79 N	80 J	81 C	82 B
83 S		84 O	85 G	86 F	87 E	88 B		89 A	90 P	91 N	92 M	93 J	94 F		95 G	96 H	97 B		98 N
99 F	100C	101D	102K	103Q	104A	105R	106H		107S	108L	109J	110G		111R	112I	113Q		114C	115M
116A	117S	118G		119R	120S	121K		122D	123L	124B	125A	126R	127F		128I	129R	130E		131O
132J	133G	134H	135P	136C	137K	138D	139M	140E	141B		142R	143K	144F	145D	146N	147E	148J	149P	150C
	151I	152L		153I	154Q														

DEFINITIONS

A. God, in the O.T.
116 104 125 38 8 89 47

B. Brit's favorite pooch? (2 words)
97 2 124 13 42 141 68 88 82 46
76 62 53

C. One time Haight-Ashbury denizen (2 words)
41 65 16 51 114 100 136 81 9 26
150

D. Quaker vessel?
145 122 138 101 28 54 73 15 7 61

E. How the Eastern-bloc spy was caught
147 66 87 33 1 140 130 50 17

F. Female hormone
57 127 94 86 22 99 40 144

G. City in northeastern Ohio
118 133 11 78 29 110 95 85 67 21

H. Pertaining to ancient people of Asia Minor
96 77 134 106 34 45 25

I. Pre-natal killing
128 151 112 43 58 153 75 5

J. Reprehensible person
148 109 93 132 52 24 12 80 60

K. Blackjack (hyph.)
137 56 121 74 23 3 143 35 102

L. Rare occurrence
108 70 10 123 36 152

M. Hangman's halter
115 139 63 39 92

N. Bathing aid (2 words)
20 59 79 30 146 48 91 98 64

O. Wartime acronym
131 71 84

P. Avoid
135 55 90 37 149 14

Q. Let out
72 103 31 113 154 49 6

R. Dispute
142 69 105 126 19 129 119 4 27 111

S. Flashy customized cars
120 117 32 83 18 107 44

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition. **See page 61 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.**

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Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

News Item:

What Else Is New?

Moscow (AP)—The Soviet Union's European breadbasket is growing a bumper grain crop, but shortages of spare parts and fuel are hurting chances that farmers will be able to bring all the crop in.

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Where Does The Anti-Drug Money Come From?

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 13

Last week, the Board for International Broadcasting, which runs Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, gave a lunch honoring Vice President Quayle, who spoke (most persuasively) about how our foreign-beamed radio is the biggest bang for a buck we have ever come up with. There came a question period, and Barbara Walters said, Mr. Vice President, it's true that President Bush campaigned on a pledge of no-new-taxes, but the campaign is over, and yesterday a poll revealed that 67 per cent of the American people are willing to go for additional taxation to help the drug problem, what do you say?

What the Vice President said was that we must not worry, the President's new drug program is being financed by "offsets." That means that the $1.48 billion extra which will be necessary to launch Mr. Bennett's program will be met by reductions in other expenditures. He did not enumerate which these would be (Mr. Darman of the OMB has proposed $320 million from immigration-assistance programs, $90 million from public-housing and juvenile-justice programs, $194 million from the Economic Development Administration, and $132 million from the Pentagon's single-channel ground and airborne radio system; but we are still short about half the Bush Anti-Drug Extra).

The very next day brought the testimony of Mr. Bennett before the Senate Judiciary Committee. It was the lead headline in the *New York Times*: "Bennett Concedes / States Would Pay / Much of Drug Cost. / Billions for Jails Alone. Estimate Offered at Senator's / Insistence—Bush Starts / Tour to Rally Support."

It dazzles the mind to plumb the combination of innocence and hypocrisy that go into such analyses as the American people not only are used to, but appear to demand, from their public figures, as from their press.

Point 1: No dollar dispensed by Washington, D.C., grew up there, with perhaps the exception of the legacy of Oliver Wendell Holmes, who left his estate to the Federal Government. (Justice Holmes having died in the middle of the New Deal, we can't assume his estate took care of the expenses of the Federal Government for more than—ten seconds?) Every cent collected by Washington originated in the pockets of U.S. citizens. There is, then, no such thing as "federal money." It is money spent by the Federal Government mulcted from U.S. taxpayers.

Point 2: President Bush ran on a promise of no further federal taxes. Fifty governors also ran for office, and most of them did not run on any such program. There is nothing in the Bush program to prevent individual states from raising as much money as they wish to raise for the purpose of fighting drugs as comprehensively as they choose.

Point 3: It is contemplated by the Bush Administration that existing law-enforcement grants to the states be doubled, from the current $150 million, to over $300 million. There is no obvious reason why the 67 per cent of the American people cited by Miss Walters as willing to pay more taxes for the purpose of prosecuting drug merchants or drug users shouldn't go ahead and spend the money at the state level. It's their money, their criminals, their jails. Taxpayers who think the money comes in free from Santa Claus, in Washington, D.C., ought to be tested for drugs.

Senator Joseph Biden, who heads the same Judiciary Committee that will be remembered as having shown the wisdom to reject Robert Bork for the Supreme Court, told the press that, the Bush Administration having failed to shoulder the burden of the drug war, the burden would fall on the states. That is on the order of saying that since the ladder can't bear the weight, the weight will need to be borne by the ladder's rungs. "They're trying to require states to carry the overwhelming bulk of the load," Senator Biden complained. "The states are being asked to make a multi-billion-dollar commitment in one year—next year." Senator Biden should perhaps ask his state's governor (he is from Delaware) to pledge not to raise taxes. But then what happens to the drug war?

Some states, to be sure, are wealthier per capita than others. The principal purpose of federal expenditures should be to help the poorer states by using surpluses generated by the wealthier states. It doesn't always work that way, as students of the figures know. And even then, the net transfer is under 10 per cent. So, dear Barbara, please stop blaming the shortage of jail space on Mr. Bush's campaign pledges. □

Viewing the Intifada Stitch by Stitch

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 8

It required more stamina than my own to sit through the whole one and one-half hours of "Days of Rage," the controversial documentary shown by PBS giving the Palestinian side of the *intifada*. Israeli loyalists did what they could to prevent its showing, insisting that funds had traveled their labyrinthine way from Kuwait on over to the producers of the documentary, which representation was indignantly denied by said producers. The PBS compromise was to sandwich in "Days of Rage" between ten minutes given over to the Israeli position at the outset of the entire two-and-one-half-hour program, and an hour's discussion of the documentary's failings after it was over.

I gave the documentary fifty minutes and went on to other pursuits, and the reason for this is relevant to the great argument between the Palestinians and the Israelis.

First there was the theatrical problem. It simply consumes too much time to have a question put forward in English, translated into Arabic, replied to in Arabic, and translated back into English. So that you get such sequences as:

"Do you mean that the Israelis will not permit you to rebuild the house that they destroyed six months ago?"

"Bushiwi sanguine serdatipo lassilo eddali simiisi hala bushi?"

"Bushi nilli construqui halla setti alli bonni haska tutilili hjalla messi juju hoo hoo."

"The Israeli authorities will not permit reconstruction for one year since the incident they falsely accused us of initiating."

That was hard enough on the nerves, but then there was the scene-after-scene problem of what one might call the endless black eye (fractured leg, broken arm, beaten back, mutilated finger). The awful physical grossness of the *intifada* is best presented vividly and briefly. To travel to one house with four rooms and 24 inhabitants, to explain twice that there are 650,000 Palestinians crowded into the tiny Gaza Strip, to show signs of physical mauling in protracted footage pays little

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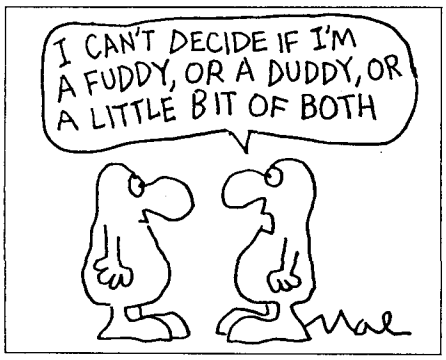
heed to the sensibility of the viewer. To feel indignation over Israeli brutality does not require that one visit every black eye in a Palestinian hospital. How many corpses does one need to view to understand the horrors of Auschwitz?

The Israeli position is that the only way to deal with Palestinian terrorism is by counterterrorism, however modified. For all we know, the 16-year-old with the first black eye had aimed a stone at an Israeli guard and clobbered him. The issue between the Israelis and the Palestinians isn't really the point of the documentary, which can't hope to dispose authoritatively of the question of whether the Israelis have any business taking over the West Bank 22 years after occupying it in a defensive war. The real question has to do with the nature of Israeli defense methods.

A bright young scholar put it this way the following day. "If the physical mutilation we saw had been done by Syrians, nobody would be surprised. That is the way those people treat each other, let alone their enemies. But if the physical mutilation we saw had been done by Spaniards, the world would deeply resent it. The question then is legitimately asked, Do the Israelis, in the conduct of their defense against the *intifada*, think of themselves as Mideasterners in their practices, or do they think of themselves as Westerners? Because if the latter, they cannot excuse their behavior."

I think that fair enough, and of course the criticism is relentlessly made by a large number of Israelis who deplore the behavior of Mr. Yitzhak Rabin's military even if they do not deplore the colonization of the West Bank. Collective punishment isn't civilized practice, and the Israelis correctly pride themselves on exhibiting the fruit of Western civilization in the Mideast. The larger question—Who owns the West Bank?—will probably be settled not by reason, but by force majeure: Who can, over the long run, establish their de facto control of it? If the Israelis prevail, they will need to rewrite their commitment to political democracy, given that a minority of 5 per cent cannot reasonably assert control forever of a land 95 per cent alien without coming up with a South African formula to defend their practices.

The Israelis' insistence that their motivation is purely defensive withers on the vine of Biblical irredentism. Scant time was given, during the one hour viewed, either to the disposition of the Palestinians to submit to carefully monitored disarmament, or to the disposition of the Israelis to settle for carefully monitored disarmament. Meanwhile, outrages continue on both sides, and though we need to know about them, we do not need to view the wounds stitch by stitch. □



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Auschwitz And the Nuns

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 1

As a Catholic, I am bound to admit that my leaders have made a most awful botch of the Auschwitz business, and so in the spirit of collegiality invoked by Vatican II, I contribute the following. But first, the narrative:

1. In 1984, a division of the Carmelites, a Catholic order of nuns who restrict their activity to prayer in seclusion, set up a convent near Auschwitz–Birkenau and resolved that their prayers should be directed to memorialize the awful butchery committed there by the Nazis.

2. The Carmelites, having set up their convent, ran into protests from sundry Jewish groups. The Jewish opposition seemed to be saying that the site of Auschwitz–Birkenau ought to be a shrine devoted to Jewish activity, if there was to be religious activity there of any sort; and that for a Catholic order simply to move in was, well, somewhere between bad taste and intolerability. Meanwhile, Jewish anger was stirred by a fund-raising letter from Brussels urging Catholics to contribute money to the convent and to other convents where prayers would be said for the conversion of the Jews. In response, protest meetings were held in Geneva in 1986 and 1987 at which the archbishops of Cracow (the archdiocese that includes the convent), and of Paris, Lyons, and Brussels met, and it was agreed that the convent would be moved elsewhere by February of this year.

3. February came and went, but the convent remained, with no explanation given as to why the agreement hadn't been lived up to. At this point seven militant American Jews visiting Auschwitz stormed the walls of the convent in protest. They were expelled by Polish workers and some of them (it is claimed) were beaten.

4. On Saturday, Josef Cardinal Glemp, the primate of Poland, made a statement not easy to understand. He asked "dear Jews" not to go around as if members of a chosen race, reminded them a purpose of the Carmelites was to bring spiritual solidarity among men of good faith, suggested that Jewish leverage over the media had distorted Polish purpose, said that the nuns had every reason to have hurt feelings over the lack of Jewish appreciation of their sacrifice, and asked that the convent be spared politicization, especially by non-believers. This statement was greeted by Cardinal O'Connor of New York as "shocking," and he also declared it utterly wrong that Cardinal Glemp should ignore the Jewish demand that the convent be removed according to the Geneva understanding.

A few observations:

1. The meeting in Geneva should never have taken place. The bishops' stand should have been quietly to announce that under no circumstances would they stand in the way of a few Catholic nuns who had decided to devote their lives to praying for the souls of all who had died in Auschwitz at the hands of a madman about whom one can be grateful only that he never classified himself as a Christian. If someone doesn't wish to be prayed for, the only way to handle him is to pray for him even harder.

On the matter of praying for the conversion of the Jews, ecumenicism has really gone too far. The subtlest form of anti-Semitism is to act as though it were not worth it to pray for the conversion of Jews to Christianity. Religious denominations sometimes give the impression that they wish to surround themselves with barbed wire and "No Trespassing" signs. Indeed, in Israel it is illegal to carry on Christian missionary work. That is not the idea at all. Christians are enjoined to spread what they believe to be the special joys of their faith worldwide, and a mark of disrespect for other religions is any failure to try to expose them to what one is committed to believing to be the word of the Lord. And as much can be said—must be said—with respect to the Jewish religion, as well as Islam, Hinduism, and others. I pause to reflect that I am confident that two of the most earnestly committed Jews I know as friends would not disagree with anything I have said. I speak of Professor / Rabbi Jacob Neusner and of Herman Wouk.

2. But Poland needs to wrestle with the historic imagery of anti-Semitism and its awful realization in the Holocaust. Early in August the Archbishop of Cracow said that he was abandoning plans to construct an interfaith center at Auschwitz because, after the Jewish demonstrations, he didn't believe that "the Christian faith, as well as symbols and piety, were [being] respected." That is a pity; but meanwhile, the archbishop should live up to the commitment to move the convent. Elie Wiesel said, "tell the nuns to go and pray, but pray elsewhere." He is right. Who knows, he may yet be converted. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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OFF THE RECORD

■ Remember the "negative" 1988 presidential campaign? The one that was blamed on mean ol' Lee Atwater, who was accused of using "code words" to foster "racial polarization" and, worse still, win the election.

We are thus waiting for the new Democratic National Committee Chairman, Ron Brown, to clean things up on his own side of the tracks. If it is racist to wave the flag of Mr. Willie Horton, a convicted criminal, for example, the same might be said of the decision to have a sinister Japanese flag flying in the background of Dukakis commercials during the Ohio campaign, or for Richard Gephardt to campaign against the inscrutable South Koreans who are not buying our K-cars. Most recently, in the special Florida congressional election to fill the late Claude Pepper's seat, when Democrat Gerald Richman unsuccessfully tried to counter Ileana Ros-Lehtinen's conservative campaign by saying that the spot was "an American seat" (translation: Cuban-Americans are not real Americans), Mr. Brown appeared at a news conference in Miami calling the theme "unifying."

■ On the abortion front, Cato happened to be in the D.C. offices of the Ad Hoc Committee in Defense of Life when an angry Thomas A. Luken called. Mr. Luken is the honorable Democratic representative from Ohio's 1st District, and in fact boasts a sturdy pro-life voting record. But he was incensed about a report in the latest *Lifeletter* that referred to the Democrats as "the party of abortion."

Our friend did manage to remind the congressman of his own party platform, to wit: "We further believe . . . that the fundamental right of reproductive choice should be guaranteed regardless of ability to pay." This appeared to further enrage Mr. Luken, who accused the Ad Hoc folks of being closet Republicans and "pushing" him toward the other side. Cato wondered if perhaps Mr. Luken, B.A. Xavier University and father of eight, is being pushed by a Democratic leadership that might be thinking of running a pro-choice candidate against him in the primary. But Mr. Luken didn't stay on the phone long enough for our friend to ask.

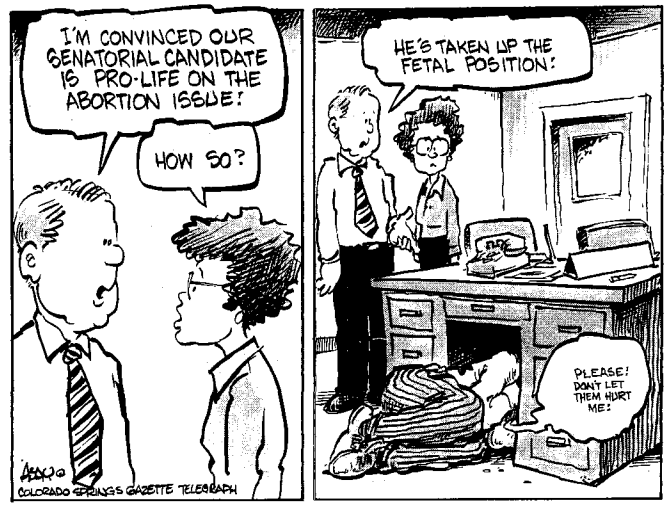
■ On a more cheerful note, every day greater numbers of Americans are taking the pledge. No, this is not demon drugs but taxes. In 1986 the Americans for Tax Reform (ATR), knowing the tendency of the reformed to backslide, launched a campaign to get congressmen, senators, and presidential candidates to pledge to "oppose and vote against any and all efforts to raise taxes." The current resident of the White House was the most famous of these, and ATR President Grover Norquist reports that the effort is being made to get every American politician to swear one way or the other by 1992. No reflection on our friends in Congress, but two witnesses are required.

■ D.C. mommies and daddies wondering why Johnny can't read might start asking the National Education Association. As the kiddies went back to school this year, the NEA, in coordination with the advocacy group Housing Now!, introduced for use in the District's schools a pamphlet: "Housing and Homelessness: A Teaching Guide." It is "beyond question," states the Guide, that "many government housing programs, a large segment of the public-housing program included, work extremely well." The teaching manual includes a "poverty quiz," with questions such as, true or false, "The U.S. spends a big part of its federal budget on welfare" (trick question, because welfare payments are primarily from state and local governments). It also includes a glossary of sources, most of whom would very much like to see the Federal Government spend a large part of its budget on welfare. Here is an excerpt from lesson three, designed for children from grades four to eight:

Classroom Procedure

1. Discuss how an "ideal" shelter would operate (treating people with dignity, services that could include tutoring, play time, family together time, child care, privacy, etc.).
2. Discuss the "ideal" landlord and how he or she would treat tenants, maintain property, etc.
3. Discuss how classmates could be kinder to students who do not have all the resources of "normal" young people.
4. Discuss ways the federal, state, or local government could help to eliminate homelessness (create affordable housing, rental assistance, subsidized housing, etc.).
5. Ask the students to write letters to members of Congress and the Senate telling them how they feel about homelessness and the lack of affordable housing.

■ Alas, all signs suggest that higher education is not doing much better. Representative Dan Burton (R., Ind.) relates a conversation in Managua with the secretary general of the ministry of foreign affairs, Alejandro Bendana. The Sandinista was asked how he ended up a Marxist, having been educated in the U.S. and lived in a capitalist democracy. "I'm not saying I'm a Communist," he replied, "but everything I am I learned at Harvard." —CATO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HOW SO?
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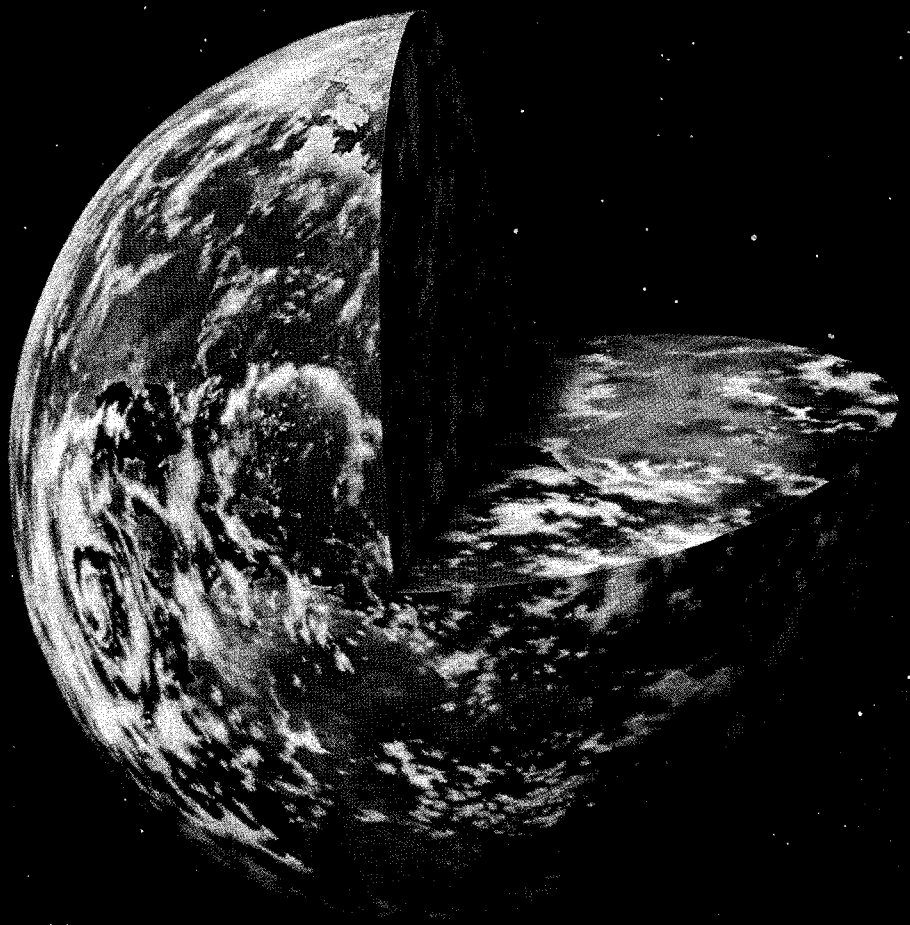

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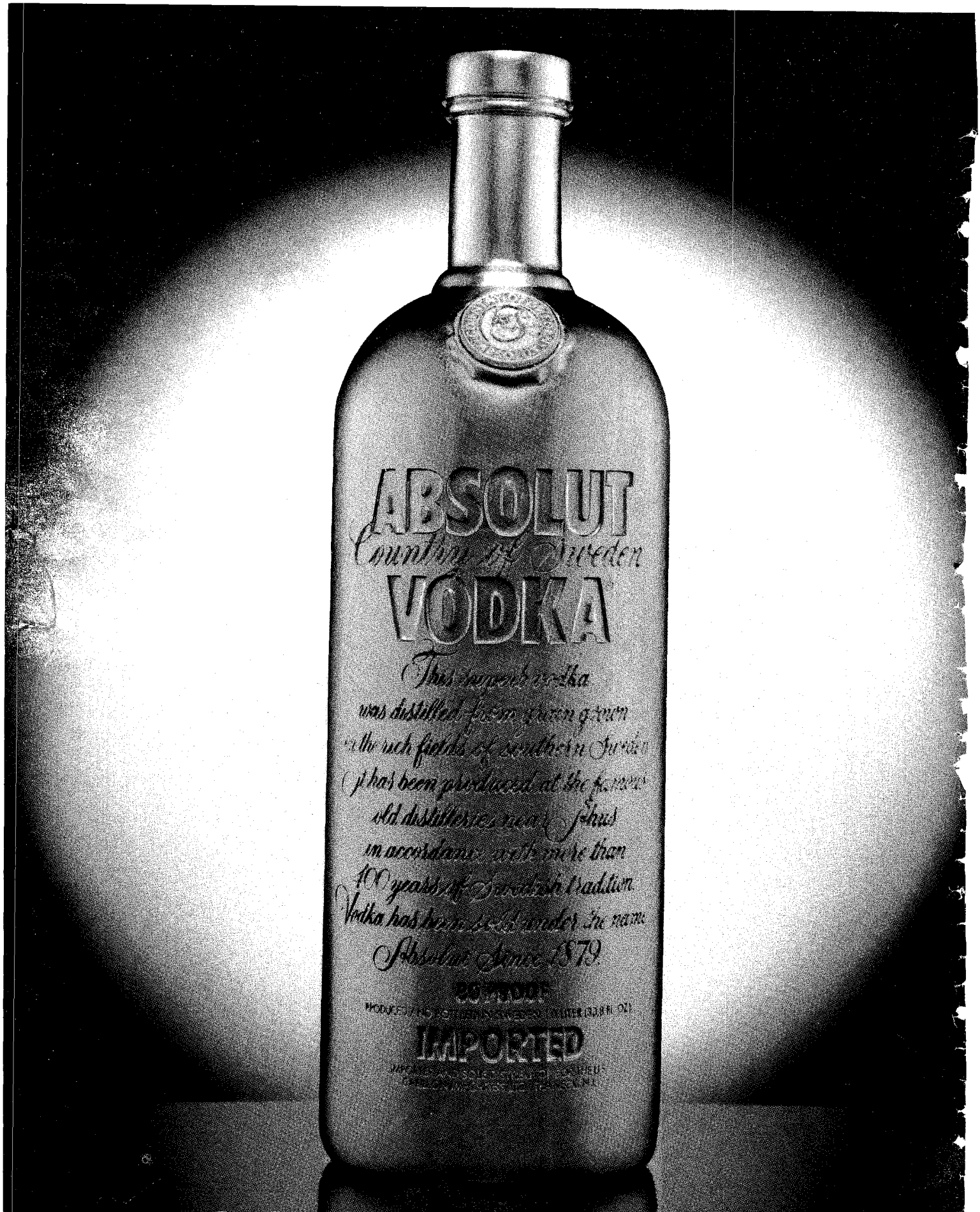

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